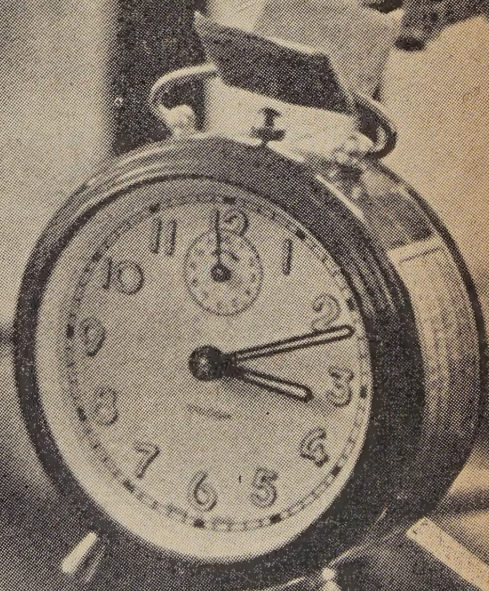


JEWISH OBSERVER AND MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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**PROBLEMS OF UNDER-DEVELOPMENT
*CAN SCIENCE BEAT THE CLOCK?***

THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE CONFERENCE

COMMENT

THE CLASH BETWEEN PROPHET AND PRIEST

The International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States, to give it its formal title, at the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot was saved last week from becoming just one more platform where scientists preached science to other scientists while the rest of the world watched with more or less comprehension, and with waning interest, as the papers and words multiplied. Instead, the conference became the scene of a head-on clash between the priests and the prophets of science, and one of the most important political milestones of our time.

It had not been planned that way by the sponsors, nor by the participants. They may be as surprised as most others by the emergence of an all-important political rather than a purely scientific conclusion from the conference. But this is what has happened and what we show clearly in the three speeches to the conference, Eban's introduction, Ben-Gurion's prophetic vision, and Professor Lewis's comprehensive practical survey.

There is no way of escaping the harsh truths which Professor Lewis put before the Conference. He did not look into the distant and hopeful future; he looked at the cruel and hateful realities of today that have to be overcome. The music of the future is no cure for the current ailments of Africa and Asia, and in his lecture which was one of the most significant political contributions of the last ten years (*and we therefore print it in full on pages 19-23*), he looks at them with scientific precision, and proposes what should be done about it.

* * *

This aspect has to be emphasised because it is not only applicable to the new states in general, but also to each one in particular—not least among them is Israel. It would be a great disservice to the conception and execution of this conference, if it were taken as being concerned primarily with distant African and Asian countries, or with the kind of help that Israel might be able to give them. It is just as much concerned with the needs of Israel's own development. The two go together.

It is in this context that Professor Lewis's concern with the distortion of the education systems in the under-developed countries deserves special attention. It will not have been lost on Israel's new Minister of Education, Abba Eban, who with Meyer Weisgal was largely responsible for the organisation of the Conference, that what Professor Lewis had to say about the short-comings

of secondary education in the new states was especially applicable to Israel.

While Israel's record in primary education compares with the best (although the proportion of large classes is still far too high and of adequate class-rooms and teachers far too low), the same cannot be said of Israel's secondary education system. This falls considerably below the minimum set by Professor Lewis for developed countries—it reaches only barely half Lewis's basic figure of five times the University population. Israelis at the Universities number 10,000, but those receiving a secondary education only number 25,000.

* * *

And this brings us to the second important aspect which the conference has highlighted. Such outstanding figures in the scientific world as Cockcroft, Blackett and Lewis insisted on the fundamental importance for all under-developed countries of establishing what Blackett described in the words of Aneurin Bevan as "the religion of priorities." And in their priorities the immediate importance of applied scientific knowledge was immeasurably greater than focussing attention on the distant possibilities of solar and atomic power on which the Israeli specialists were inclined to concentrate.

The 1960s, Professor Blackett insisted, would be dominated by the competition in the rate of material and social progress, and this must be based on the development of the known processes of technology and science. They could not afford to wait for the long and costly processes of turning possible new developments into practical propositions. Science was no magic wand.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, on the other hand, appeared to side with the prophets. He saw a vision of what the new science could do for the poor countries; it could transform them, their people and their problems. So who was right: Ben-Gurion or Lewis? The prophet or the priest? The answer was not given at the Rehovot conference, could not be given there. But the issue has now been clearly stated—more clearly than ever before. The scientists and the economists have done their share of the work. It is now for the statesmen to take over.

Just as the conference itself was conceived and made possible by the imaginative determination of Eban and Weisgal, so now it can be saved from becoming just one more volume in the libraries of science, by the projection of a synthesis of the prophet and the priest. Blackett, Cockcroft and Lewis have set out the tasks and the priorities; Ben-Gurion has set the target. Just as in the approach to 1948, and many times since, Ben-Gurion has known how to combine in his person the approach of the priest and the prophet, so now the responsibility will rest on the Israeli sponsors to draw the obvious political conclusions from this conference.

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DEFENCE

BEN-GURION'S SURPRISE MOVE

KNESSET ADVISED OF SHIFT IN ARMS BALANCE

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Members turned up in the Knesset on Tuesday in argumentative mood. They had been called back from holiday to approve a series of tax increases covering a wide range of products and they were none too happy about them. Even members of Mapai were prepared to protest.

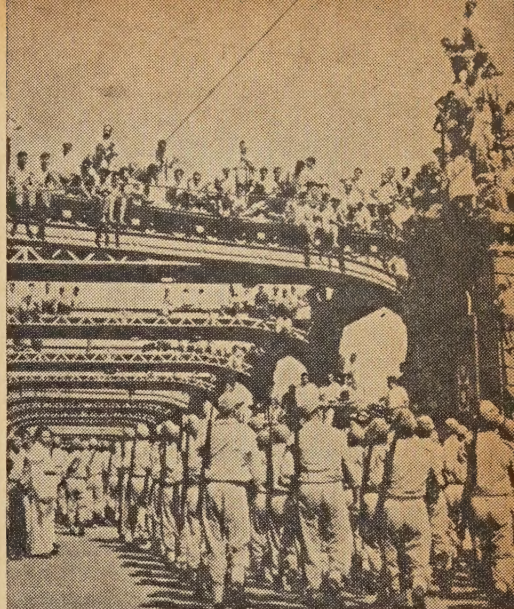
Until the Prime Minister stood up. In a statement which was listened to in curious silence, Ben-Gurion revealed that additional finance was needed for the acquisition of important defence equipment. In two fields of defence, the country's minimum requirements had not been met.

Now, as a result of long and arduous negotiations with the only country in the world where part of this equipment could be obtained (he did not name it), he had received a report that the matter was being arranged.

Decisive: To acquire this equipment, he felt compelled to undertake an obliga-



LURISTAN—NOT DAMOCLES'
An antique sword for France's
Defence Minister



"MARCHING ON ISRAEL"
Cairo guards practice for the day

tion amounting to several million pounds, since there was a danger that "we might be overcome as a result of the lack of these arms."

The situation in the branch of defence where this equipment was needed had been dangerously inadequate. In view of the daily threats by the Arab countries, this issue could even be decisive for Israel's fate.

Some opposition members were dubious. This, they muttered, was Ben-Gurion's way of rescuing Eshkol from the embarrassing position in which he had been placed by the need to introduce new taxation measures. But their attempt to seek a public debate was defeated. The coalition parties voted solidly in favour of passing the matter to the Finance Committee for discussion.

A new alert? Deprived of their opportunity to discuss the defence issue, they turned their attack on Eshkol. If, as Eshkol said, the new taxes had been imposed for the financing of expenditures which had already been included in the budget, why had the Minister waited until the Knesset went into recess to issue the necessary orders?

The explanation they got from Eshkol did not satisfy them and, after the session, opposition members started to collect the 30 signatures necessary for a special session.

But the speculation started by the Ben-Gurion statement had not been halted. Why then had the Premier introduced a topic usually shrouded in the utmost secrecy into a general debate, that of defence requirements?

Was he, many were asking, sounding a new alert on the basis of some fact unrevealed? Or was he, perhaps, addressing the Arab Foreign Ministers in Shtoura rather than the Knesset.

(see also page six)

ISRAEL

ONE UP IN CYPRUS, ONE DOWN IN CEYLON

MAKARIOS ACCEPTS AN AMBASSADOR

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

There was an aura of quiet satisfaction about the Foreign Ministry this week. On the face of it, the bare announcement that Cyprus had agreed to the accreditation of an Israeli Ambassador seemed nothing more than a natural observation of the diplomatic niceties.

In fact, it signalled the culmination of a fiercely waged battle in which a number of Arab states, headed by the U.A.R., had done everything short of threatening Archbishop Makarios personally, to try and forestall any diplomatic exchange between Israel and the newly independent state of Cyprus.

The Arab League invoked Cypriot gratitude for the unqualified backing it had given EOKA from the start of the guerilla warfare on the island. It con-



MRS. BANDARANAIKE
A taste for tea

trasted this with what was, at best, Israeli neutrality.

More than the Arabs : The Arabs were also not slow to remind the new Cyprus Government that, at the height of the battle between EOKA and the British, the Israelis successfully organised holiday trips to Israel for British servicemen and their families.

Against this, the Cypriots had to set the economic facts of independent existence. Last year, Israel imported £150,000 worth of Cypriot goods and Israeli tourists in Cyprus spent something in the region of £500,000—both figures far in excess of the amounts spent under either heading by all the Arab countries together.

There had also been other pre-state gestures of Israeli goodwill, including a tour of the island by the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, official visits and exchanges of labour missions. The Israel Ambassador-designate, Ze'ev Levin, has himself made a considerable contribution to the cordiality of relations between the peoples of Cyprus and Israel.

Arabs' last bolt : Before his appointment as Consul-General in Nicosia eighteen months ago, he was the representative in Cyprus of the International Federation of Trade Unions and, in this post, he played a major part in the organisation of the Cypriot trade unions, joining Greeks and Turks under a common banner.

He was most active during the period of the inter-communal riots, and it was Levin's plan for co-operation between

Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the narrower field of labour relations that later provided the basis for overall agreement on communal unity.

It was on the eve of Cypriot independence that the Arabs shot their last bolt, in the form of a tactless speech by the Lebanese Consul which implied that Cyprus was certain to see that its bread was buttered on the Arab side.

No "victory" : For a moment, it seemed that Archbishop Makarios was wavering. The Foreign Ministry here dispatched Arthur Liveran, head of the Commonwealth Division, to see what could be done. But his journey was not really necessary. The Archbishop had already made up his mind. Cyprus would establish full and normal relations with both Israel and the Arab states.

It would be wrong, however, to speak of an Israeli "victory" in this context. In the first place, Israel never objected to Cyprus establishing normal relations with the Arab states. And, more pointedly, as the recent experience with Ceylon has shown, such "victories" may be ephemeral.


Ceylon, in the period of the caretaker government led by Mr. Dahanayake, rejected strong Arab boycott threats and extended recognition to Israel. For a time, relations between the two countries were close and cordial and included the purchase of two Israeli frigates for the Singhalese Navy.

Cairo's welcome : Last week, however, the new Premier, Mrs. Bandaranaike, yielded to the Arab pressures and announced a review of "the accreditation of our Ambassador in Rome to Israel and the circumstances under which this decision was taken by the caretaker government."

The Singhalese Government felt that this accreditation was "carried through without adequate regard to the special difficulties of the situation in the Middle East or proper consideration of the possible effects the action would have on our relations with the Arab governments." The Singhalese Government "now proposes to take certain remedial measures with a view to strengthening and fostering our relations with the Arab countries."

Cairo, not unnaturally, has welcomed Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement as an "appreciation of which is the right side in the Palestine problem." More probably, however, Mrs. Bandaranaike has had an eye to her country's trade—the Arab states take something like a quarter of Ceylon's vital tea exports.

Measured against the acquisition of a new friendly neighbour in the eastern Mediterranean, Ceylon's decision is an unfortunate though far from tragic one.



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MIDDLE EAST

ANTI-ZIONIST SPECIALIST APPOINTED

NEW IMPETUS TO INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

from our own correspondent

Baghdad:

There is news this week of a number of important changes within the Ministry of National Guidance. They have one simple aim: a reinforcement of the anti-Zionist campaign in which Iraq has taken a leading part during recent months.

Brought in as director-general of propaganda is Dr. Safa' Ad-Din Kholucy, formerly professor of English and translation at the Higher Training College. A highly strung man, he is a recognised poet and was married last year to a Lebanese Muslim girl from Tripoli. Among his accomplishments are a fiery pen—in both prose and poetry—and a fluent command of Turkish. He has all the attributes necessary for directing an explosive anti-Zionist campaign.

Additionally, the Ministry of National Guidance has borrowed from the College of Arts Dr. Mahmoud Ali Daoud, the Iraqi specialist on the modern Middle East. Between them, these two men can call on a well-trained team of young men having an excellent command of both Arabic and English. Kholucy has been well prepared for his new job. One of his recent preoccupations has been a close study of mass media and their techniques.

Mean business: Iraq's growing concern with things Zionist and Israeli is also reflected in the composition of the Iraqi delegation to the Arab League meeting in Beirut. Among its senior members are Sami as-Saqqar of the Jewish Boycott Committee, Abdullah al-Khayyat who is in charge of the European Press Department at the Foreign Ministry and Qasim Hasan, formerly Ambassador to Delhi and recently transferred to Prague at the request of the Russians.

It was Hasan who recently distributed thousands of copies of an anti-Zionist publication in New Delhi. He is not formally attached to the delegation but has been asked to "sit in" on its discussions. On the topic of Palestine and Zionism, this team is most efficient.

There seems no denying that, in this regard at least, the Iraqis mean business.



SECURITY CHECK IN OLD JERUSALEM
Hussein's police watch for the "counting of days"

NASSER AND KASSEM AGREE

HUSSEIN MUST GO—BUT HOW?

from our special correspondent

Shtoura, Lebanon:

There have been few Arab League meetings at which I can remember the Foreign Ministers of the member states conducting themselves with such caution as that which opened here on Monday. So far, in public, no one has put a foot wrong.

For the first time since the early months of the Kassem revolution in Baghdad, we have the Iraqi and U.A.R. Foreign Ministers sitting at the same table. Only the Tunisians are absent, upholding their dignified cold war against President Nasser.

The meeting place where the sessions are taking place is a hotel, 35 miles east of Beirut, popular with honeymoon couples. The only significance in its choice, however, is that its elevation provides some relief from the enervating heat wave at present gripping the whole length of the eastern Mediterranean.

Quartet from Cairo: There is little love lost behind the scenes. This is the first time that the Arab Foreign Ministers have come together in three distinct blocks. To the extent that they come closer, or fall apart, as a result of this meeting will depend the future course

of events in the Middle East.

It was no accident that the leading members of the U.A.R., Sudanese, Libyan and Yemeni delegations arrived here together on the same plane. From the statements already made by their members it is clear that they have agreed on a common line of action.

The other two blocks hardly justify this description but to explain them as such helps to simplify the issues at stake. One is Iraq, the other Jordan. The Lebanese, the Moroccans and the Algerians can be regarded as "neutrals," except in their own causes.

Algeria demands priority: Ostensibly, the main purpose of their meeting is to decide on a common course of action on "the Palestine problem," but with three days of discussion already at an end this problem has not yet been touched on.

First, the Jordanians insisted that it was pointless for the Foreign Ministers to seek common action on any issue if they could not first agree on the need for Arab unity. As Jordan Foreign Minister Mussa Nasir put it: "We will first discuss the relations among the Arab states before any other subject, and then we

discuss anything else." matters turned out, he had to ease somewhat in his demand. Krim Belkacem, the "Algerian Foreign Minister" ended up here in a flurry, announced he could not stay long and insisted the Foreign Ministers proceed first discussion of the Algerian issue.

Support from Iraq: That, apart from hour-and-a-half meeting to settle a provisional agenda, is what they have. Krim Belkacem put the demands on the Algerian rebels at length: more moral and material, and an end to reluctance to carry their continuation of France into practical form.

Despite the endless talks conducted in recent days between the Algerian representatives and the U.A.R. Government, it was the Iraqis who came out strongly in support of the rebels. Now this might be done has been occurring the meeting until the time of ending. The next two topics on the agenda are less promising of accord.

Prepared for walk-out: "General Arab Affairs" could mean anything. What it is in fact is that Jordan is demanding immediate and unconditional end to the U.A.R. campaign against King Hussein and the Jordanian Government. The Jordanians have come prepared for a "no or never" stand—and they are prepared for a walk-out if support is not coming.

Over the past few weeks, special Lebanese envoys have shunted back and forth between Amman, Cairo and Beirut in a fervent effort to either resolve or ease the U.A.R.-Jordan dispute. The only thing they could achieve was a promise from the U.A.R. Foreign Minister Fawzi that he was prepared not to attack the Jordanians provided they did not attack the U.A.R. first. The Jordanians have made it clear that this is not good enough.

Indeed, the Jordanians have already threatened themselves for at least a deplorable departure from the conference, if not its complete breakdown. A Jordan newspaper received here the day after the conference opened prefaced its comments with the observation: "It is undoubtedly a miracle if the Arab Foreign Ministers' meeting at Shtoura reaches agreement on any of the subjects discussed."

Way through Jordan: But two delegations have come here determined to discontinue three on the agenda, with or without Jordanian participation. Both the U.A.R. and the U.A.R. have specially selected their delegations with an eye to the "Remaining parts of the Palestine problem; a re-organisation of the Palesti-

tine people as one people; the establishment of a Palestine army in Arab host countries."

Libyan Minister of State Wahbi el Bouri, who opened the conference, said that the eyes of the world looked to its participants to find a way to recovering Palestine for its people—and both Iraq and the U.A.R. believe they know that way. Unfortunately for the luckless Jordanians, it lies through Jordan.

For Kassem, however, it also lies through Syria. Whether he is to cross Syria in agreement with Nasser or in contest with him is one thing that this conference may determine. For there is no doubting the burning ambition of the Iraqis here to provide the vanguard of the Arab march to "liberate" Palestine.

Not ready yet: To Nasser, unchallenged before the advent of Kassem as "liberator" of Palestine, the Iraqi are a dangerous nuisance. The burns of Sinai still prickles. While the extinction of Israel remains one of his major aims, he realises better than most how unprepared the U.A.R. is at present for such an adventure.

But with Kassem breathing the holy fires of a "return" to Palestine across the Middle East, he has either to compete or co-operate. Which it is not yet certain. With Kassem searching for a "victory," with the Baghdad propaganda machine whipping up refugee enthusiasms for a "return" and with the Syrians looking for a new—and sympathetic—strong man, Nasser is in some difficulty.

On only one topic are both he and Kassem in solid agreement: the presence of Hussein's Jordan remains the stumbling block to a successful action against the Israelis, either now or at some future date. Between them, they have numbered Hussein's days. Only the event itself will show which is to make the count down.

Despite all Cairo's shouting, it is doubtful whether the Foreign Ministers will ever reach item seven—"Persia's recognition of Israel." The Iraqis are against a discussion. So, too, are the Jordanians. None of the other participants are keen to follow the U.A.R. lead in breaking diplomatic relations with Teheran.

Hassouna's solution: If agreement on Arab unity or on Palestine is impossible, how then can the Arab League continue to maintain an existence which has for years been more fantasy than fact? The thought has already occurred to League Secretary General Abdel Khalek Hassouna, just back from a fortnight's red carpet visit to the Soviet Union. He has returned with what seems to be a Moscow-inspired "solution."

The Political Committee of the League,

he proposes, should be made up of the Foreign Ministers and should meet at regular three monthly intervals in a different Arab capital. At the same time, a "popular organisation" (the phraseology is significant) should be established, representing the entire Arab people but excluding governmental representatives.

The Iraqis have already cottoned on to the first one such a committee would give the U.A.R. a majority. The Lebanese don't like the second. It reminds them too much of Hassouna's earlier proposal for a federation of Arab states and which they condemned outright at the time. And how, they ask, can an inter-Arab popular front organisation be set up when such popular fronts do not exist within the individual countries themselves?

In the same direction: Hassouna is quite obviously "trying it on," for his third proposal is that all Arab states must accept the arbitration of the Arab League through these two organisations. The Lebanese will never accept this. Nor will the Iraqis or the Jordanians.

So we are back where we started. All we can hope to establish is whether Kassem and Nasser are prepared to work together or whether they will continue to go their own ways. Both roads lead to Jordan—and Israel.

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JORDAN

NASSER KEEPS UP THE PRESSURE ON JORDAN

DAMASCUS REPORTS BERNE PLOT WITH ISRAEL

It may well be, as the Lebanese claim, that the U.A.R. came to the Foreign Ministers' conference with a pledge not to attack the Jordanians if the latter refrained from abusing them. If such a pledge was given, it has certainly not been extended to the air waves.

The radio battle between the U.A.R. and Jordan has reached epic—and vicious—proportions. Israel, the Shah of Persia and “imperialism” still come in for a fair share of the abuse from Cairo and Damascus, but this is as nothing when set against the vilification poured upon the head of “His Majesty the little king,” as Cairo calls Hussein, and the Jordanian government.

There is open and constantly expressed incitement to the king's assassination. Hussein, said Cairo's star Arabic commentator Ahmed Sa'id last week, stood in the way of an independent Palestine state. “The liquidation of Hussein and his rule in Jordan is the basic condition for establishing the Palestinian entity.”

Small and lonely: Among the charges levelled against Hussein was that he returned Arab refugees to the “inferno of Israel,” that Israeli spies were being released from Jordanian prisons for 1,000 dinars a head and that Jordan's recogni-



HUSSEIN AND PATRIARCH YEGHISHE
A secret confected in Damascus

tion of Israel was as actual as that of the Shah, the only difference being that Amman did not say so openly.

Against these blasts from the transmitters of Cairo and Damascus, Jordan's voice is a small and lonely one. One of her braver attempts to hit back partially misfired.

“Recognition for west bank”: Amman radio claimed recently that eleven Syrian soldiers and an N.C.O. had fled to Jordan to seek asylum after an attempted coup against the Egyptian authorities in Syria. Their leader, a

Lieutenant Muhammad Nur, was said to be under arrest in Damascus.

At a hurriedly called press conference in Damascus, Lieutenant Nur was produced to answer questions from reporters and seemed to satisfy them that, as far as he was concerned, there was no truth in the Jordan allegation.

Damascus itself then seized the initiative. Radio commentator Tawfiq Hasan took to the air with an allegation that Jordan and Israel had reached a secret agreement that Jordan would not intervene in the event of an Israeli attack on the U.A.R. In return, Israel would recognise the west bank of the Jordan as Jordan territory.

In Beirut, too: This agreement, charged Hasan, had been negotiated during a meeting at a western embassy in Berne between a palace official and an Israeli official. It challenged the Jordanian authorities to deny that the king's delegate negotiated with the Israeli delegate “for a whole month starting on July 2, after which his delegate returned with the Israeli delegate in the same plane to Rome, where they boarded separate planes carrying the one to Tel Aviv and the other to Amman.”

This, however, seemed to be a home-cooked Syrian confection: neither Cairo radio nor the press thought it worthwhile picking up the story.

The Lebanese, too, have been having their own Nasser troubles, sparked off by an alleged interview given by Prime Minister Saeb Salem to the Egyptian government newspaper *al-Gumhuriya*. The paper quoted Salem as saying that his new government was “an extension of the revolt in Lebanon” and requesting *al-Gumhuriya* to “tell the people of the U.A.R. that the Lebanese offer them their hearts in all their battles.”

Fabricated or distorted: This brought an angry reaction from the Phalangist Party and its senior representative in the government, Finance Minister Maurice Gemayel, who demanded a statement from Salem. The Prime Minister quickly replied that the newspaper account “did not entirely correspond with what I actually stated” and issued an official declaration in which he declared:

“First, I cannot accept the suggestion that there is anyone in Lebanon who is more Lebanese than I am. Secondly, I have never had, and will never have, two identities. I am Lebanese inside and outside Lebanon.”

The last word came from the Phalangists. *Al-Gumhuriya*, they said, had either fabricated the Salem statement or distorted it “for a certain purpose.” Whatever the truth, the event has done Nasser little good here.

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IN THE NEWS

NAMIER'S OTHER ZIONISM

THIS ONE OF the quirks, or possibly even one of the tragedies, of human nature is that we never properly seek to assess a man's real contribution to society until he is dead or dying. This is a far cry from recalling only the good that the recently dead have done. It is, it seems to me, something quite different, and peculiar to our own age. It is, I feel, something in the nature of atonement by society, and especially by the press and the academic world, for the injustice, unreason and ruthlessness with which these nowadays treat public figures. The sad case of Aneurin Bevan was an outstanding example of this.

In another context, but in much the same way, the death of Sir Lewis Namier last Sunday, has also created an urge to reassessment. He had always been recognised, respected and admired by a limited circle of scholars and politicians; but he was never fully accepted either by the academic world of the old universities to which he aspired, or by the Jewish world of learning and politics to which his contribution was momentous, and he was strikingly almost forgotten by a generation that did not know him. It is this aspect of Namier that one naturally recalls most vividly as one mourns his passing.

REVOLUTIONISED ZIONIST POLITICS

For Namier was no ivory tower academician. He shunned the distinction between thought and action. He sacrificed academic advancement in 1929, when he was outraged by events in Palestine, and joined the Jewish Agency as its political secretary under Weizmann. And he left an indelible mark on the Zionist movement by the time he returned to academic life in 1931. For he had brought his vast understanding of British politics (eighteenth century and modern) to bear on the political outlook of Zionism. He switched the Agency's political emphasis from the individual to the corporate; he made Parliament his principal target. And he was outstandingly successful—especially in the Conservative Party where he had laid the basis of the Zionist group to which Boothby, Buchan, Churchill and Cazalet belonged.

But his most significant contribution came later, when he was no longer formally connected with the Agency. Possibly before anyone else, he spotted



SIR LEWIS NAMIER
Much further than Ahad Ha'am

that the political prerequisite of Jewish statehood in Palestine was tied up with the partition of the country. He was a close friend of Professor Coupland, the father of the partition idea and a member of the Royal Commission which in 1937 proposed this solution. Namier had converted Ben-Gurion to the partition concept and, when the Peel Report was published, both Ben-Gurion and Namier unhesitatingly supported it, while many other Zionist leaders had their reservations. For both understood that the crux of the solution was statehood more than size.

MEANING OF JEWISH NATIONALITY

But in the long run, I believe, Namier's most lasting impact on Zionist thinking will have been made by a series of essays published mostly during the war and immediately afterwards. (He stopped writing about Jews once Israel was established). To him Zionism was a two-part operation of which the establishment of the State was an essential part—but no more than a part. The other half of the

Zionist equation was no less important: the turning of the Diaspora Jew into a normal being, not over-sensitive, not hypercritical, not unduly clannish, and not running after an unattainable assimilation. He believed, like Ahad Ha'am, Pinsker and Moses Hess, in the reality of a Jewish nationality in the Diaspora as part of the emancipation. He never fully defined its implications, but those who read his essays on Jews, Zionism and anti-Semitism in the days to come will increasingly understand what he meant. For he went in effect much further than Ahad Ha'am in his implications. And this may well turn out to have been his most important and most lasting contribution to Zionist thinking.

... THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLATTERY

I WOULD LIKE to welcome a new "companion" to the JEWISH OBSERVER—the *Arab Observer*, published in Cairo and described in the same terms as "a weekly Middle East News Magazine." But the real sponsor, I gather, is the Cairo Foreign Ministry. The magazine is published by a body called the "Middle East Research Centre" and edited by Mahmoud Amr. It has virtually no advertising, and what it has is placed by the Government.

It covers U.A.R. affairs, politics, the Arab and the African worlds and it gives a survey of press and radio opinion. All of which would be welcome in a handy and authoritative form, even if one did not agree with any or all the views expressed. It is the *informative* aspect of a news-magazine that is of the greatest value; the opinions are optional. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Amr, the editor-in-chief, has reversed the priorities and overloaded his magazine with Cairo's familiar opinions and with virtually no real information. As a result, the reader gets 32 pages of praise for Nasser and damnation for the imperialists. And since no propagandist can be consistently original over 32 pages every week, there is a marked tendency towards repetition which becomes evident before the reader gets half-way through the paper.

The fault, probably, is not Amr's, but that of the system which insists on governmental supervision of all publications. But even within the restrictions imposed, it ought to be possible to provide the reader with rather more news about the Arab world than does the *Arab Observer*.

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IT'S HARD TO BE AN IMMIGRANT

by Ephraim Lahav

There is a rabbinic dictum that when a non-Jew seeks to embrace Judaism, he should be dissuaded three times; on each occasion it must be impressed upon him that it is both difficult and troublesome to be a Jew. Only if he insists after the third warning may he be received into the fold.

Something of the same approach now seems to be adopted toward prospective immigrants to Israel from this country, so I believe after a short period of observation at the aliyah office of the Jewish Agency in London.

This gateway to Israel is situated in a small suite, tucked away on the top floor of an office block in Tottenham Court Road. Here, applicants for immigration must put through a searching investigation by Agency immigration officials, who have recently been joined by a social worker from Jerusalem.

Big question: The main object of the inquiries is to weed out, as far as possible, those intending immigrants who are unlikely to make a success of settlement in Israel, as well as social cases who would only add to the already overstrained resources of Israel's welfare services.



YOUNG ZIONISTS IN FAVOUR
But how many immigrate?



GATEWAY TO ISRAEL
Easier to get out than in

Applicants are asked not only why they want to go to Israel, but also what they intend doing once they get there and how they plan to make a living.

It is true that, under the Law of Return, every Jew has the right to settle in Israel. The Israel Consulate-General is obliged to grant an immigrant's visa to every applicant, unless he has a contagious disease, a criminal record or has committed crimes against the Jewish people.*

Desperate need: In practice, however, there is tacit agreement that the Consulate-General should issue immigration visas only after recommendation by the Agency's immigration department. Indeed, the Consulate-General knows of no instance in which an immigrant's visa has been issued without the Agency's approval.

The integration and absorption of immigrants is the Agency's exclusive concern so that, should any undesirable person insist on his rights under the Law of Return, he could be denied the normal facilities of assisted passage, subsidised housing with convenient mortgages, loans and aid in the establishment of a farm or a business.

But, paradoxical as it may seem, the main reason why such detailed inquiries are made is that Israel desperately needs immigrants from the west. She cannot, however, afford to jeopardise the present small influx of western Jews by admitting immigrants indiscriminately. One Jew who, for any of a hundred reasons, fails

to adjust himself to Israel and returns home disgruntled, acts as a deterrent to many others who would probably have made the grade.

Non-Zionists in majority: That is why, for example, a 50-year-old shopkeeper who is unable to learn a new trade would be turned down, while a mechanic of the same age would be approved. But there are no hard and fast rules. A chemical engineer of 30 (whose services would be sought by any of a dozen Israeli firms) might well be rejected because of his or his family's psychological unsuitability.

As an insurance against mistakes of this kind, the Agency officials pay at least one, and often as many as three, calls at the home of an applicant for immigration.

Membership in an organised Zionist movement is not a prerequisite to immigration—in fact, most of today's immigrants have never belonged to a Zionist group. What experience has shown, however, is that a decision to immigrate which follows some personal crisis is rarely a wise one. People in this category are a poor immigration risk. When the shock of the experience has worn off, they may well want to come back.

Reference from the rabbi: More surprisingly, the Agency investigators are bound to establish whether the applicant is a Jew. The usual procedure is to ask for character references, specifying the local rabbi or a synagogue official. Where such references are not available, the intending immigrant has to provide some documentary proof.

These are the preliminaries. The next stage is to impress upon the applicant that living standards in Israel are much lower than in Britain. If he is after economic betterment, the Agency officials warn, it is possible but not likely that



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* Fugitives from justice can now be forcibly returned to the U.K. under the terms of the recently ratified extradition treaty.

he will find it in Israel. To this observer, it seemed that on this point the officials even exaggerated the disadvantages (in contrast with the too rosy picture painted for intending immigrants in earlier years).

Once he is accepted for immigration, the applicant can call on a wide variety of assistance. If he is a member of a pioneer group, the national institutions in Israel make all the necessary arrangements for his settlement (even the investigation in London is dispensed with).

Easy instalments: If he is a professional, PATWA is usually able to find him a job on three months' probation. But in other cases, it is almost impossible to arrange employment beforehand. However, no immigrant is sent to Israel unless there is every reasonable chance of his making a proper living, and, to help in this, contacts with likely employers are made from London.

If the new immigrant is willing to live in a development area, he is entitled to subsidised housing. What this means is that he can buy, say, a £1,650 flat for a down payment of £600, with the remainder in easy instalments. If this down payment is beyond his means, then the terms can be revised to suit his pocket. As a rule, his flat is earmarked for him before he leaves this country.

There is further provision for loans of up to £1,650 to enable him to start up in business, the amount depending on the particular circumstances. A shoemaker who wanted to open up in Tel Aviv, for instance, would have to find his own finance. But if he chose to settle in Ashdod, now the centre of a new development scheme, he would probably have no difficulty in securing a loan.

Necessary risk: In the case of a tradesman, such as a plumber, the Agency's absorption department in Jerusalem would first ascertain where his services could best be employed and then advise him to settle there, with the offer of several alternatives. It is his privilege to ignore this advice, but then he could not call on the Agency for financial assistance.

All these inquiries necessarily take a long time—in some cases years—and by the time they have been concluded the applicant's personal position may well have changed. But this is a risk which must be taken when a family's whole future is at stake.

But, despite all these precautions, immigrants do return to Britain. It is impossible to obtain their exact number because there is no follow-up (an omission which could, with value, be corrected), but the Agency officials variously estimate that returnees account for

between 5 and 10 per cent of the total of settlers from this country.

From the files: Why do they come back? Three cases from the files may help to explain:

Case A—A 30-year-old man, married with one child. He went to Israel with the promise of a job in the Haifa post office. On arrival, he was told the job was not available and was asked to work in Tel Aviv instead. He objected and when, after several weeks, the Haifa job again became available, he had already decided to return.

Case B—A couple in their early forties. They invested £7,000 worth of capital in a farm in a development area. Neither could get used to their new environment and the wife's health suffered. They are now back in this country.

Case C—An accountant in his early thirties, married with two children. After studying farming in Israel, he refused the

offer of a farm of his own and chose instead to settle in a Moshav Shitufi, where the farms are worked co-operatively. But both the farmer and his wife felt they were being treated unfairly and returned home.

Going down: However, the Agency officials assert that all those returnees who report to the Agency (and only a small percentage do) eventually express a desire to go back to Israel.

But these are the failures. The reasons why they fail are as various as their personalities. There are, to set against them, the relatively large number of people who make a success of life in Israel. But this cannot hide the fact that, although immigration from Britain has never been counted in more than hundreds, the number of settlers from this country has been steadily receding. It is hoped, in a later article, to examine the reasons for this.

THIS IS LIFE IN KIRYAT GAT

WHAT IT IS REALLY LIKE IN A DEVELOPMENT AREA

"Say, how d'you like living in a little village like this?"

The first time a tourist asked this question, it was a shock. A village? We had never thought of Kiryat Gat in this way. After all, we have a mayor and council, a court, a frighteningly large police station—even a fire engine and a dust-cart.

True, our milk is still delivered by donkey cart. But four years ago there was not even that. Just an unimpeded view of the ancient hill of Gat with its kibbutz dominating the otherwise empty terrain.

Centre of the web: Today, there are

9,000 of us, living in permanent and solidly based homes. There are factories (though not enough) and the skyline to the south-east is darkened by the mass of the new sugar beet processing plant going up alongside the railway line. Hardly a village.

Walk down our main street and you are walking down the main street of a town in any of 24 countries—you'll hear Arabic, Polish, Rumanian, English and, of course, Hebrew, not to speak of a host of other less easily identifiable tongues.

Kiryat Gat lies like a devouring spider



HOUSING GALORE, BUT NOT ENOUGH JOBS
Kiryat Gat's expanding suburbs—nobody starves but it's hard going for some

the centre of a growing web of agricultural villages. To the town, the 3,000 or so farmers who live within its reach bring products of their land for processing in its factories, for grading and packaging. Eventually, for marketing and export. Out from Kiryat Gat go the experts and technicians bringing advice and public services to those living in the outer reaches of the web.

Key to happiness: Because of the in-pressure of immigration, many more people came to Kiryat Gat in the first place than the planners had provided for. So the plan was changed. Homes were built and provided for the newcomers, but the jobs did not come along at equal speed.

Work is the key to the town's happiness. If the cotton spinning mill lays off workers, the whole town soon knows it. Shopkeepers have learned to be wary of giving credit. Too often the "securely employed" man of yesterday has become workless of today.

Unemployment remains the main key of settlement in the development of Kiryat Gat. The government provides relief work on which many people (mostly old and unskilled) are more or less permanently employed. Nobody starves, but not few find the going very hard.

Sociological interest: Relief work is unavoidable. The inflow of immigrants is always at a higher rate than industrial expansion. Even for the skilled, in either a trade or a profession, there is always a demand. And capital carefully applied can be put to very good, and profitable, use. Nine months ago, our new shopping centre started to fill up. Now almost every possible need can be met by the local stores, though the choice is not great. Some of the shopkeepers have done very well indeed. Others, as is the way of things, are finding it tough going. Their tenacity is paying off.

Naturally, in a community with people from so many different countries and added to varying ways of life, friction and disagreements do arise. This has made Kiryat Gat the centre of sociological interest. Hardly a week passes without the descent on us of bands of efficient, and rather frightening, young women from the universities, intent upon finding out what we think of our neighbours, what they think of us and why.

The "vus, vus": By feeding the assorted statistics into a computer at the other end, they hope to find out how the melting pot is working. On the whole it is simmering away gently, although national groups will remain fairly distinct for a long time to come.

To the Moroccans, we will continue to

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With design experience in some of the following fields: power plant installation, fuel, electric, hydraulic, pneumatic, air conditioning, radio. Knowledge of airworthiness requirements important. Flight test experience an asset. Only designers with considerable experience will be considered.

5. Aircraft Structures Design Engineer.

With at least 10 years' experience in the design of aircraft structures such as wings, fuselages and tail surfaces. A good designer without an engineering degree may be considered. Must be capable of making his own layouts and preliminary stress analysis.

6. Test Engineer.

Must be thoroughly familiar with type testing of aircraft components and equipment and current airworthiness requirements in this field. Required is a man who has had a similar function with a leading a/c equipment manufacturer. Must be experienced in preparing test programmes, setting up and conducting tests, and their evaluation. Flight experience an asset.

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remain the "vus, vus," a description derived from the only Yiddish words they have been able to catch. And, for as long as the "vus, vus" get the better jobs, we will be the object of their jealousy.

There's hardly anything in Kiryat Gat that could be described as organised social life. But it is surprising how easily you can get used to the quiet. We have a cinema, but little else.

Garden city? A local cafe, it is rumoured, is soon to introduce evening dances, and a number of evening craft and hobby courses have been started. But it would be romanticising things too far, if I did not admit that many of us miss a worthwhile library or the chance of attending the occasional concert.

One result of this lack of social things to do is that many of the townspeople have turned to cultivating their gardens and Kiryat Gat may yet emerge as Israel's garden city. Already many settlers are enjoying grapes and oranges from the vines and trees that they themselves have planted.

Others fill their leisure time with endless games of Scrabble, chess, record sessions and innumerable cups of coffee drunk with friends from the same language group.

WIZO's help: We are only ninety minutes from Tel Aviv by bus, but transport troubles and the high fares hardly make an evening's outing a worthwhile proposition. Not that we don't enjoy the

city when we get there, but so used have we become to the unhurried life of a small town, that it is with pleasure that most of us return to the quiet of our own streets.

There are plans for clubs, social and sports facilities. Sometimes, with the help of a friend from abroad, a plan takes shape in steel, concrete and glass to provide a much needed service. The Wizo House here, for example, is one of our finest and most useful buildings. Many new immigrants owe their smooth transition to life in Kiryat Gat to its assistance.

Perhaps our greatest pleasure is in the children of the town. What drum-major-ettes are to New York and the Guards to London, the children are to Kiryat Gat. On Friday nights and festivals they flock into the streets, all spruced up, to sing favourite songs and dance now familiar steps, nearly all of them *sabras*, yet only one remove from the mellahs of Morocco or the suburbs of London.

Their own nostalgia: Those older children who come here from their countries of origin with their parents may, because of language and adjustment difficulties, fall behind temporarily in their schooling. But their speed of adjustment is amazing. While their parents may sigh after Budapest or Baghdad, Warsaw or Casablanca, the children are creating their own future nostalgia, for Kiryat Gat.

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SCIENCE AND THE NEW STATES

INDEPENDENCE IS ONLY THE BEGINNING ECONOMIC WELFARE THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

*Address by Abba Eban, Minister of Education
and President of the Weizmann Institute of Science*

● It was the strangest conference yet to meet on Israel's soil. It was different. It was a gamble of a conference. Until it opened no one could be sure whether it would become a milestone or a disaster; whether the expected delegations would come or stay away.

● Yet they came: from six continents, from forty-one countries came 126 delegates; picked specialists, administrators, scientists, economists and ministers.

● They came from Black Africa, from the Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika; they came from the new states of the French African community; from Burma, Hong Kong, Japan, Nepal, Persia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

● The foremost scientists from the United Kingdom (including Blackett and Cockcroft), from the United States, Canada, the Argentine, Brazil and the West Indies, joined them. And more from Australia, western Europe and Yugoslavia.

● The pressure on many of them to stay away had been great. For in Cairo it had been understood that this was no political junketing but possibly the most important conference yet held in connection with the under-developed countries. Some succumbed to the pressure. The Indians stayed away.

● The conference, which has been meeting for the last two weeks, discussed many technical and specialist problems of great importance to the technicians and scientists. But outstanding in its proceedings were three of the more far-reaching contributions that looked beyond the specialist.

● We reprint here the three addresses given by Eban, Ben-Gurion and Professor Arthur Lewis. We print them in full because they incorporate in dramatic fashion the whole philosophy and aspirations of the under-privileged nations, for the use and profit of all nations.

Never in history has any generation of men seen changes as vast as those which have swept across the life of our age. Transformations which are usually spread over centuries of time have been compressed within the scope of our own living memory.

Two of these changes are of massive scale and headlong speed. They are exemplified in this place; and we are gathered here to study their interaction.

One of them is the scientific revolution which has changed the course of man's life on earth. The other is the pageant of national liberation which has altered the very shape and structure of the international family.

Only fifteen years ago: Few of us here are too young to recall how the community of nations began to organise its corporate life at the end of the Second World War. Fifty-two sovereign states set their hands to the United Nations Charter at the Founding Conference in 1945.

One quarter of the world's population then lived in colonies and dependent territories under the rule of imperial powers. Only three African states, with an aggregate population of 30 millions, exercised political independence. In Asia great

populations had just passed the threshold of sovereignty while others reached towards it in stronger hope.

Today, fifteen years later, the company of sovereign nations numbers more than eighty-two. In Asia the process of emancipation is almost complete. In Africa the family of independent states has grown from three to twenty. All but a few of the 230 million Africans have achieved their statehood or are negotiating for its early attainment.

Flags are not enough: Across the two continents which stretch forth from this place, the air vibrates with the joyous tumult of celebration. Multitudes are newly embarked on the adventure of freedom with its perils and hazards—and its deep enduring satisfactions. World opinion attends this drama of liberation with sympathy, hope and fraternal aid.

Some of the states represented in this Conference are making their first appearance at an international gathering since achieving their sovereign independence.

If institutional freedom could itself guarantee peace and welfare, we should now be celebrating mankind's golden age.



TIME WAITS FOR NEITHER MEN NOR NATIONS
A pre-conference conversation piece involving Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben-Gurion, Meyer Weisgal and Abba Eban

But, alas, the flags are not enough. In the awakening continents political freedom has not been attended by a parallel liberation of peoples from their social and economic ills.

Extent of inequality: Behind the new emblems of institutional freedom millions continue to languish in squalor, illiteracy, exploitation and disease. Men awoken to learn that they may be free in every constitutional sense and yet lose the essence of their freedom in the throes of famine and want.

As the old political inequality between nations vanishes a new one takes its place. It is the inequality which has inherited the new abundance, and those who merely witness the promise without sharing in its fulfilment.

In our discussions during the coming days the extent of this inequality will become clearly revealed as we set the achievement and potentiality of man's creative mind against the actual situation prevailing in many of the newly liberated areas.

In the advanced western countries average life expectancy has reached 67 to 71. In the under-developed areas it stands at 29 to 39. In most countries of Asia and Africa the national per capita income is \$40 to \$50. In western Europe it ranges from \$300 to \$900. In the United States it reaches \$2,400.

Shortfall on domestic markets: In the west, industrialisation goes forward in swift momentum. In the new states it is impeded by the lack of basic technical skills, of power, of transport—and of the economic and social infrastructure necessary for fruitful investment.

In few African or Asian territories has local industrial production met the requirements of the domestic market for major categories of consumer goods. The production of capital goods is still in its infancy.

Few of the newly liberated territories have as yet a balanced, diversified economy. Some of them still live in predominantly agricultural communities, held back by a lack of specialisation, by an absence of regular production of surplus commodities for sale, and by primitive technology.

All men are equal: Natural resources remain inadequately developed. The lack of momentum in the educational movement prevents a wider acquisition of technical skills. Debilitating diseases continue to enfeeble the people and set a limit to production.

These disparities in achievement and prospect do not arise from any inherent inequalities in moral and intellectual



MRS. EBAN AND CHAD VICE-PREMIER GABRIEL LISETTE
Great answers are only found when great questions are asked

capacity. Nothing has been achieved in Europe and America of which Africa and Asia are intrinsically incapable.

The conclusions of research do not justify any belief that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in the disparities between the cultural achievements of different peoples.

Formidable—and inspiring: The truth is that one part of humanity has been cut off from contact with the processes of thought and action which have endowed another part of humanity with the elements of power.

Across Asia and Africa hundreds of men, the leaders of newly liberated nations, find themselves suddenly charged with a responsibility, at once formidable and inspiring. The problems which they face cannot await the kind of solutions which evolve across many generations. The human urgencies are acute.

Swift communications, radio and cinema have brought the achievements and standards of western societies to the knowledge of newly awakening peoples. The impulse to emulate and achieve similar results is correspondingly sharpened.

Leading questions: Most of the new nations have put their faith in democratic methods of government. But unless free institutions can prove themselves responsive to the challenge of economic welfare they will fall into discredit and eclipse.

In this poignant situation, the leaders of new nations look around for a key to accelerated progress. Their eyes fall in expectation and wonder on the contem-

porary scientific movement, with its record of immeasurable triumphs and its even more radiant promise for future years.

What does the age of power, of nuclear and solar energy, hold in store for the planners of new economies? What is the impact of science and technology on man's basic resources, the land and water which nourish his life?

An end to exclusion: How can our massively growing populations be maintained through a corresponding growth of resources? What is the message of medical research to those who live short, stunted, diseased lives across the expanses of three continents?

How can new communities be socially and economically prepared to absorb the benefits of modern techniques?

Above all—how can leaders of new states fashion educational programmes which will end the exclusion of half the world from the domain of scientific inquiry and effort?

How the answers are found: Beyond the first step marked by this assembly, how can we ensure a continuing process of contact between the new states and the scientific community, both through the mediation of individual states, and by giving a new dimension to international co-operation?

Can we at this Conference formulate a declaration of purpose expressing, both in theory and in practice, the purposes common to science and to national freedom? In human issues, as in science, the great answers can only be found when the great questions are asked.

NO PEACE WITHOUT PROSPERITY

UNDER-DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGES THE WHOLE WORLD

Address by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel

We regard this gathering as a historic event of inestimable importance, for it is the only bound up with the two most momentous revolutions in the annals of the human race, which are taking place our day and have not yet come to an end. One of these is political, and the other intellectual.

The first of the revolutions to which I am referring is the ending of the rule of one people over another. All the nations of the world, large and small, rich and poor, developed and prosperous or underdeveloped and exploited, are steadily winning freedom from foreign domination.

Only a little less than two centuries ago, almost all the countries in four continents of the Old and the New Worlds—America and Australia, Asia and Africa—were under the sway of a few European empires: Great Britain, Russia, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Turkey and Belgium.

An unfinished process: The American continent was the first to cast off the foreign yoke, starting with North America and following with all the other countries of the New World. At the beginning of the twentieth century, however, most of the Asian peoples and almost all the peoples of Africa were dominated by European nations.

Today we are witnessing a powerful and irresistible—though as yet unfinished

—process, in which all the peoples of the globe are winning their freedom. Not a single people on the continent of Asia is still subject to the rule of a power that maintains democracy in its own country, and the day is not far distant when all countries of Africa, without exception, will be independent.

If this redeeming revolution is to succeed, we must realise that the gaining of independence is not the end of the redemption, but only the beginning. The difference between nations so far has not only been that some were the rulers while others were subjects, but that some were rich and developed, while others were poor and backward.

Securing world peace: It is not the clash between east and west, which we call the cold war, but the material and cultural gap between these two types of nations that constitutes the gravest and most dangerous problem of our days.

And the solution to this problem lies not only in the grant of independence to peoples that for decades or centuries lived under foreign rule, but in the closing of this economic and cultural gap between the nations.

The rich and highly developed countries will not be doing their duty if they fail to extend all the material and spiritual assistance in their power to wipe out this regrettable and dangerous difference between economic and cultural



NIGERIAN FINANCE MINISTER IMOKE
Independence alone is not enough

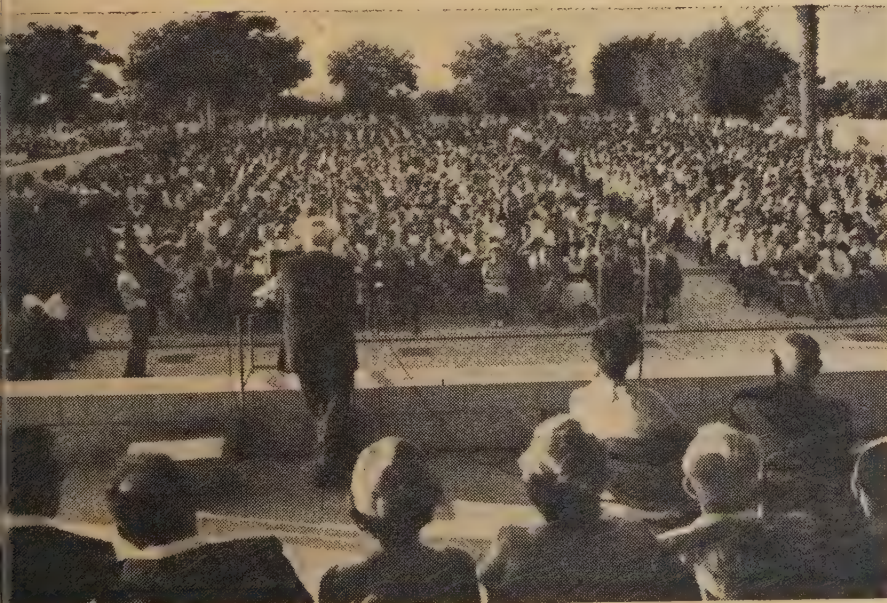
standards. The peace of the human race will not be secure until these distinctions are wiped out, until all the peoples of the world are not only independent but more or less on a level in their status and their material and spiritual capacities.

Growing mutual dependence: Mankind must not continue for long to be divided into rich and poor, progressive and backward. A house so divided cannot endure. And the danger lurks not only for the poor and backward, but also—and no less—for the rich and progressive.

In no previous era of history was the fate of the nations the world over so closely inter-connected as in these days of ours, and this mutual dependence is steadily growing.

Modern means of communication, which are being speeded up from year to year, contact by speech and sight on the radio and television, and the global integration of national economies, have transformed the human race all over the world into a single integrated entity, all of whose units depend on each other.

The United Nations is one of the outstanding expressions of these universal human bonds—but not the only one. Any incident or set-back in one country strikes a blow at peace and security throughout the world. No summit conference or improvement in relations between the great powers will



PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION ADDRESSES THE OPENING SESSION
A redeeming revolution—but only the beginning

ensure world peace and the unity of mankind, until this economic gap between the peoples of the various continents is closed.

Duty of the rich: The United States was the first power to recognise its duty to extend economic aid to the European nations that were crushed and impoverished in the Second World War, and wonders have been achieved through this aid. The centre of gravity of world problems now passes to Asia and Africa, which are the home of the great majority of the human race.

Independence alone will not meet their needs. They require agricultural and industrial development, better education, housing and health services, material and spiritual progress, for it is these alone that complement and complete newly regained independence, and the achievement of these things should be the main purpose of newly liberated peoples.

It is the duty of the rich and highly developed nations to assist their fellows, whose rights, status and educational opportunities have been restricted by history for decades and centuries, to overcome these limitations.

They should offer this aid not as the charity of the rich to the poor, or the kindness of the strong, but as the obligation of fellow-members of the same human family, out of a feeling of equality, comradeship and universal human solidarity, to rectify a historic wrong, and to establish throughout the globe a family of nations, founded on moral, social and economic equality, mutual confidence, aid and respect, and sincere co-operation in the utilisation

of all the achievements of humanity and its scientific and technological discoveries.

Widening horizons: These discoveries are the second revolution that is taking place in our day—the intellectual, scientific revolution, which centres in the marvellous achievements of science, the discovery of the secrets of the atom and the conquest of the elements of nature, for the sake of man's economic prosperity and his spiritual advancement.

ONLY AT THE BEGINNING

Although so far it has been possible to transform only a small number of elements into energy by the fission of the atom, the day is not far distant when the quantities of energy available through the transmutation of matter will be multiplied many millionfold, when scientists succeed in achieving for peaceful purposes not only the fission of the atom, but the fusion of atoms, with a resultant release of energy many times as great.

When we also succeed in more effectively utilising solar energy and desalinating sea water, wide horizons will open before mankind for the fructification of the deserts, which now occupy enormous areas, the irrigation of all the arid places, and the supply of almost infinite quantities of energy, which are the essential pre-conditions for the rapid and effective development of the under-developed countries and the continued progress of the wealthy ones, now that the world's reserves of energy in coal, oil and gas may diminish.

No accident: If these two revolutions,

which seem to be taking place independently in our day, are merged and combined, the entire character of the human race can be transformed. It can become a family of nations all of whose members enjoy equal access to all the resources of nature and the achievements of science and knowledge, in peace and co-operation; all the barriers and conflicts between blocs, colours and races can be broken down, and human relationships can be established in all countries on foundations of freedom and dignity, mutual aid and creative initiative, without discrimination, denial of privileges, tyranny or exploitation by arrogant rulers who control their peoples as a shepherd controls his flock.

The liberation of peoples and the closing of the economic and spiritual gap between them with the aid of science and technological know-how, will ensure peace in the world and raise the family of nations to the peak of material prosperity and spiritual advancement.

Perhaps it is no accident that this gathering, which has set itself this aim, involving the two great revolutions of our day, is meeting in this country, whose geography is so poor and humble, but whose history is so rich and significant.

Only the beginning: Together with the merging of the communities that have come home from the Diaspora, and the building of a new society founded on creative initiative, freedom and co-operation, under a free and stable democratic régime, we aspire to make our little country, poor as it is in natural resources, into a land rich in the only natural resource with which we have been endowed—perhaps no less than great and rich peoples—namely, moral qualities and intellectual capacity.

Although we are still at the beginning of the road—only twelve years have passed since the day we succeeded in renewing our independence in our ancient homeland—the first steps we have taken, in fostering science and research and creating new social patterns in our economic life, are encouraging.

We are well aware that in the realm of material resources, wealth and power, we shall remain a small and modest people, but we believe that in the realm of the spirit, in which it is not quantity but quality that counts, our people—like any other people—will not lag behind the rest of the world in the spiritual, social and scientific contribution that it will make to the common treasury of mankind.

In any case, we shall play our part, as far as it lies within our modest capacity, in the two great revolutions that are taking place in our day.



BRITAIN'S PROFESSOR BLACKETT AND ISRAEL'S PROFESSOR PEKERIS
A language in common—but what of the "ordinary man"?

BEWARE THE FETISHES OF SCIENCE

WHAT ARE THE REALITIES OF PROGRESS?

A PLEA FOR THE ORDINARY MAN

*Address by Professor W. Arthur Lewis,
Principal of University College, Jamaica, West Indies*

My subject is the conditions required to achieve self-sustaining economic growth. Books on this subject are all of enormous size; they vary in length from 100 to 1,200 pages so you will not expect me more than a brief glance at the aspects of the subject.

Actually, the conditions of economic growth can be stated very simply, and require no elaborate technical analysis.

The difficulties in the way of achieving economic growth are political, rather than technical. The technical analysis can be put shortly by saying that economic growth requires three factors, science, men and money. I shall say a little about each of these, and then about political obstacles.

Science to need to lead: Fortunately for the new states, they do not have to be in the forefront of developing new science. What they need is rather the application of their problems of what is already well known. This is science at the hum-drum level, not to be compared with the glamorous and exciting games with the frontiers which are played in such institutions as this.

Nevertheless, this existing body of science constitutes an immense contribution, freely offered by the older countries to the new. Most of all, these countries have learned to survey their physical resources; to study rocks and minerals and soils; to follow rainfall, river flows, and underground water; fisheries and forests.

The agencies which make such studies are always under-manned, and this is a major obstacle to planning economic development.

The biggest contribution: Next, the biological sciences have an important contribution to make to agriculture, in introducing new plants and animals, studying plant nutrients and animal foods, and devising controls of pests and diseases.

Since agriculture occupies from a half to three quarters of the people of these countries, who are also poorly nourished, this is perhaps the biggest contribution which science can make to production.

For the rest, the sciences upon which the various branches of engineering depend, may prove to be a menace rather than a help to the new states. In the

developed countries, one of the chief purposes of applying science to production is to find ways of substituting capital for labour; of doing by machine what was previously done by hand.

Men—the second factor: Such technology is very appropriate to countries where labour is scarce and expensive relatively to capital, but it is irrelevant to most parts of Asia, where the problem is rather to devise new technologies which make manpower much more efficient without much capital.

We shall hear from the scientists at this conference a great deal about what can be done at the frontiers of knowledge if large sums of money are made available. Since large sums of money will not be made available, I hope we shall also hear what science can achieve spectacularly for very small sums of money.

WRONG EMPHASIS IN EDUCATION?

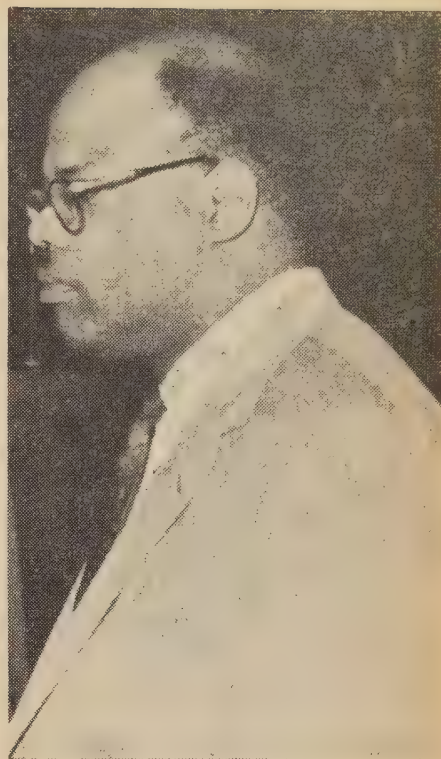
So much for science. Let me now in the same brief and selective fashion make one or two remarks about men, who are the second factor required for economic growth.

Recipe for the farmer: The most important man in economic growth is not the university man, but the ordinary man, the man on the farm and at the bench. Economic growth is not the product of science or education; it began a long time ago, before there were either schools or scientists. Economic growth is the product first and foremost of trade—of roads, markets, opportunities to grow new crops, and opportunities to dispose of surpluses.

For example, enormous economic progress has occurred in West Africa during the past 50 years, as the farmers have seized new opportunities for trade in cocoa, cotton, peanuts, palm oil and domestic foodstuffs.

Economic planning has to begin with the farmer, since farmers are anything up to three-quarters of the population, and since any expansion of non-farm activities creates an increased demand for food.

If the farmer is forgotten, high prices for food and large imports of



PROFESSOR LEWIS
Science, men and money

food will soon make his presence felt. The recipe for the farmer is simple: lead the trader to him, and take the landlord and the moneylender off his back.

New arrangements for land tenure, debt and agricultural credit are usually necessary if the farmer is to have the incentive to produce more.

Unpopular everywhere: Hence, countries where landlords and moneylenders have played a prominent part in the nationalist revolution, and have thereby secured a firm political foothold, do not thereafter normally show much agricultural progress; both Asia and Latin America tell this tale.

As for the trader, he is everywhere unpopular, and governments have everywhere tried to tie both him and the farmer in a bundle of price controls and marketing regulations, but the result has seldom been to encourage the farmer to increase his production.

Apart from needing a proper economic framework in which to function, the farmer also needs technical advice, from trained agricultural advisers. The number of such advisers in the new states is almost negligible in relation to need, mainly because of the general shortage of trained personnel. So let me say a few words about education.

Education fetish: In a developed country all the children between 6 and 15

are in school; at least 20 per cent of each age group goes through a grammar school type of secondary education; and at least 5 per cent goes through university or its equivalent. Under-developed countries cannot afford this level of expenditure on education. They have to choose, and their problem is what to leave out.

NEEDS IN RURAL AREAS

The current fashion is to spend lavishly at both ends of the scale, and to neglect the middle; to spend lavishly on university education, and on attaining the goal of universal primary education, while neglecting secondary education in its various forms.

We have made a fetish of universal literary and universal primary education. Most of the children in our countries live in rural areas, and have to make their living by farming. The kind of education they usually get in rural primary schools does not help them to be better farmers. On the contrary, it gives them the ambition to move into towns seeking white collar jobs as clerks.

Bottleneck at secondary level: Our towns are filling up rapidly with these maladjusted young people—faster than we can provide for them jobs, houses, water supplies or other public services. Thus the main effect of giving the rural areas too much education of the wrong

kind is to ruin both the countryside and the towns.

What the rural areas need most is agricultural education by technical advisers, who show the illiterate farmers new seeds and animals and techniques. But the money which should be used for agricultural advice is instead eaten up by primary schools.

The big educational bottleneck in many of these countries is at the secondary level. They need agricultural agents, nurses, laboratory technicians, practical engineers, elementary school teachers, book-keepers, secretaries, and a stream of other such people, whose normal training is a secondary education, followed by from one to three years in a vocational school, or by in-service training.

Five per cent university: The number required is at least five times the number of university graduates required. And the graduates cannot do their jobs unless they can find secondary school products through whom to work.

The proportion of people at different levels of training which a country can absorb depends on its level of development. As far as we can judge, a developed country needs in its labour force about 5 per cent with university type training, and another 25 per cent with secondary type training.

Less developed countries cannot absorb so many trained people, especially where



ISRAEL'S PROFESSOR KATZIR AND WEST NIGERIAN FINANCE MINISTER ADEBYI
No catalogue is necessary

half the country lives in a subsistence sector which makes little use of trained services.

Schooling not sufficient: Countries at the level of development of West Africa could probably absorb as much as 5 per cent of each age group in secondary type training, but most of these countries have provision only for one per cent or less in secondary schools, and nothing is more urgent in Africa than a vast expansion of secondary education.

The absorbable proportion rises rapidly from 5 per cent to 10 per cent as public services expand, since primary schools and medical services between them can account for 5 per cent.

The goal of some of the more rapidly developing countries is to have 10 per cent of each age group in secondary schools. But even where provision of secondary schools is adequate, as in India, inadequate provision is made for further vocational training of those who go through secondary school.

Here at the secondary level is where the provision of education and the needs of economic development now stand furthest apart.

An ambitious target: Now I come to money. The amount of money required for economic growth depends on the rate of growth which one wishes to attain. If the ambition is to grow as rapidly as the countries of Europe and North America have grown during the



AMBASSADORS' LADIES—MRS. POKU OF GHANA AND MRS. OGDEN REID OF THE U.S.
The "new world" is changing—education must change with it

st century, the desired growth rate is about 2 per cent per head per annum. Allowing for population growth, this most new states means that national output should grow by about 4 per cent per annum. Higher rates than this are stated as objectives in some development plans, but 4 per cent is so difficult to attain that it is really quite an ambitious target.

Economic growth at about 4 per cent annum requires that new states withhold from personal consumption about a quarter of the national output.

What should be spent : One half of this, about 12 per cent of national output, is needed to provide an adequate framework of public services; the other half required for capital formation. The need for capital formation, or investment, is familiar; a word should be said about the framework of public services. The governments of these countries ought to spend every year about 3 per cent of national income on education, 1 per cent on public health, 3 per cent on economic services such as communications, agriculture, and geology; and about 4 per cent on general administration and welfare.

This cost aggregating 12 per cent of national income, is somewhat higher than in the more developed countries, who can provide the same range more intensively at 10 per cent of national income.

Foundations of economic growth : This is mainly because the average public servant is paid more in relation to average national income in a rich than in a poor country—a fact which mainly reflects the shortage of educated persons.

Expenditure on the public services is just as necessary to growth as is capital investment. Law and order, education, agricultural advice, geological survey, public health and such services are foundations of economic growth.

As for capital investment, no catalogue is necessary. The most urgent need of most developing countries is for better transport, especially roads and harbours. The next priority is water—its conservation for agricultural, industrial and domestic purposes.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE MONEY

Then there is the tremendous need for capital for housing in all our rapidly expanding cities. Many people think of capital primarily in terms of manufacturing industry and electric power, but even in the most advanced countries less than one-third of capital investment is in factories.



AMONG THE AUDIENCE AT THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE
"Good government depends more on civil servants than on politicians"

Public services, utilities and housing are the great eaters up of capital investment, without which other productive activities could not take place.

Given the will, and a few trained men, the remaining obstacle to economic growth is lack of money. Nowadays in most under-developed countries people know what economic growth requires; the difficulty is to make available the quarter of the national income which it costs.

By-product of the capitalist rise : Personal consumption, which should only be 75 per cent of the national income, is nearer 85 per cent, leaving for the public services and for capital formation together only about 15 per cent instead of the 25 per cent which they need. How is this transition to be effected?

The problem is not new. The countries which are now developed have all had to make this transition during their "industrial revolutions" or "take-off periods."

In the Soviet Union the transition has been achieved in effect by taxation, which is a form of compulsory saving. Elsewhere it came automatically, over a fairly long period, as a by-product of the rise of a capitalist class to dominance in the economic system.

The new religion : Capitalists are distinguished from other dominant classes by their passion for saving and for productive investment. Earlier dominant classes had different ambitions.

Priestly classes saved, but they invested their wealth more usually in monuments and churches than in factories and farms.

Landowners saved, but in their heyday they used their savings to buy more land, rather than to invest in improving land, and the persons from whom they bought were usually in distress, and selling to finance consumption.

PRIVATE CAPITALISM TOO SLOW ?

Nowadays landowners in developed countries have learnt to behave like capitalists, but elsewhere landowners are still not prone to productive investment. The capitalist was the first dominant type to make saving and productive investment into a religion of life.

Socialism in suspension : As capitalism develops within a backward economy, the proportion of the national income accruing as capitalist profits increases all the time, and so the share of the national income saved and invested grows automatically all the time, until the economy is fully converted to capitalism, when the share of profits in the national income is stabilised.

All the countries now developed have gone through this process, except the U.S.S.R.; and the countries now in line for development can tread the same path if they so desire.

For the most part they do not so desire. This is not primarily because of anti-capitalist ideology. Most of the leaders of new states proclaim some sort of socialist leaning, but within a year or two of taking office their desire for development proves stronger than their antipathy to capitalism; and they adopt pro-



PROFESSOR ADLER AND DR. ANNA WEIZMANN
"The wonderful lesson of Israel"

grammes for stimulating private capital investment, for stimulating even, indeed, the foreign private capital investment which they have hitherto denounced.

More rapid alternative: Their main objection to relying solely on the growth of private capitalism is that it is so slow. By this method it may take anything up to a century to raise the rate of domestic saving from 5 to 10 per cent. Most political leaders want quicker results than this.

Taxation provides a more rapid alternative. If 20 per cent of national income is raised in taxes, of which 12 per cent is spent on government services, the other 8 per cent, added to 5 per cent of private saving, makes a respectable level of capital formation. Countries which have followed this path in recent years include Ghana, Burma and Ceylon.

This relatively high level of saving out of taxes, 8 per cent of national income, accords very well with the modern pattern of demand for capital. For nowadays half of investment is done by public agencies anyway, in electric power, communications, water supplies, schools and other public services; so there is no longer need to rely on private savings for financing investment of this kind.

Not too much: In addition, many private investors look to public agencies for finance, whether for private housing, for agricultural credit, or for manufacturing industry. So it is quite appropriate for the major part of saving to be done on public account.

Neither can it be said that 20 per cent is too much of the national income to take in taxes. Developed countries take 30 per cent and more. In Asia and Latin America the distribution of income is even more uneven than it is in Europe or North America.

The top 10 per cent of the population gets 40 per cent of the national income; landlords think nothing of taking half

the peasants' produce as rent. There is a large surplus over and above what the masses of the people receive for their personal consumption, and it is not too much to ask that some of this surplus be mobilised for economic development.

Means not lacking—but the will: Admittedly it cannot be done all at once. But there is no technical obstacle in the way of raising the share of taxes in the national income from 10 to 20 per cent over a period of ten years.

This can be done even in egalitarian countries, such as we have in West Africa, where land is plentiful, and where there are very few rich persons. Output is growing in these countries anyway; so it is possible to raise the proportionate share of taxes in national income over a period of time without actually reducing the absolute level of consumption per head.

What is lacking in most of these countries is not the means but the will. For what is involved is that political leaders should give priority to economic development over their other pursuits, at least to the extent of agreeing not to use the strains created by development policies as weapons for attacking each other.

But no such priority is accorded.

Most political leaders in the new states find other issues much more exciting than economic development, and also more rewarding as possible sources of political power.

Over-production of politicians: It is clear that a number of the new states have an awkward stage to pass through, during which their affairs will be dominated by men who are mainly interested in preserving the privileges of their own group, or in tribal, religious, racial or language disputes; or simply in military adventure.

For a number of these states their very existence as nations will be at stake, whether because they are menaced by external aggression, or because of tensions within themselves, leading to civil war or disintegration.

KEEPING POLITICS WITHIN LIMITS

Even some countries which have no deep tribal or other divisions seem likely to stultify themselves by an over-production of irresponsible politicians. Politics is exciting to young countries, and politicians in these countries have attracted to themselves all the glamour which was previously reserved for priests and kings, not excluding the military parades, the salutes of guns, the yachts and the country houses.

We must resign ourselves to the fact that most of the new countries will be

too preoccupied with other matters to give to economic development the priority which it needs.

But there are other new countries which will do better. These fall into three classes.

First, some new countries have the good fortune to have a great charismatic leader, who can carry his country with him, while maintaining democratic rules. India is the most obvious example.

Missing opinion: This is a somewhat precarious situation, since charismatic leaders seldom leave behind someone who fits their shoes, and their departure is liable to be followed by muddle.

Secondly, a few of the new countries have already learnt that the political game must be played within limits, and that order and progress are more important than winning an election. In the developed countries public opinion safeguards this tradition. New countries do not have this safeguard; they have little independent public opinion.

Nevertheless in some, for example Nigeria, and my own West Indies, one may venture to feel that the present breed of politicians values order above racial or tribal or religious objectives, and will create conditions for economic progress.

Where science fails: In the third class of hopeful countries, a military or civilian dictator has eliminated public disorder. Some of these men are rogues, but others are devoted to the public welfare, and if they so desire, can speed economic development even more rapidly than is feasible in democracies, which have to be more tender to established interests.

This is the point where science fails us. The older countries can give technical assistance to the new countries in every field, except that we have no formula to offer for the creation of political stability. We can advise on medicine, on agriculture, or population control; we can say what are the conditions for economic progress; or how to eliminate unemployment; or how to establish great scientific and university institutions.

But if an Indian asks: what should we do to ensure political stability in India when Mr. Nehru leaves us, the western world has no useful advice to offer. Nobody has any formula which can ensure that a country will be governed well.

Politicians for civil servants: The nearest we have got to such a formula is to recommend that there should be a well educated professional civil service, which will carry on through thick and thin, however bad the politicians may be. This is a good formula, as the remarkable economic progress of France during the last 15 years testifies so well.

But there are even countries where

this will not work, because the politicians refuse to allow an independent, professional civil service to be created. After all, the process of attaining political independence is essentially one of substituting the rule of politicians for the rule of civil servants, so it will take some time to persuade new countries that good government depends more upon the quality of the civil servants than it does upon the quality of the politicians.

Technical agencies not enough: This proposition may not even be true. Political science, if it is a science, is so underdeveloped that one can have little confidence in any of its propositions. Meanwhile, the richer countries of the world can help in many ways those of

What the rich can do: And I doubt whether such countries, having just thrown off the tutelage of thousands of French or Belgian or Italian civil servants, are prepared to submit themselves to the tutelage of thousands of United Nations or American or Russian civil servants. For the most part they will have to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps, and this takes a lot of time.

The third contribution which the richer countries can make to those of the poorer countries which are ready is money. I said earlier that these countries could finance economic growth themselves, by raising their tax rates from 10 to 20 per cent of national income, which is a moderate level.



A WORD FROM WEISGAL

"Some have already learned to play the game the hard way"

poorer countries which are ready for economic growth. One major contribution, which we shall discuss during these next two weeks, is the free availability of science, both natural science, and social science. A second contribution, which comes every year, is technical assistance. This is slightly more complicated. In these under-developed countries where 50 per cent of the population has received a secondary education, the need for trained people from outside is marginal, and the existing agencies of technical assistance can cope with it. The problem is quite different in countries where very few people have received secondary education, as in Laos or Bolivia, or Guinea or Congo.

There the numbers required to make any serious impact on the economic situation are so large that the existing technical assistance agencies are virtually irrelevant to their problems.

However, this takes time, and the pain of the transitional period would be eased by external assistance. Money from outside permits the national income to grow more rapidly, and therefore provides a bigger surplus out of which taxation can be levied without pressing on current levels of consumption.

LOANS ARE A MISTAKE

These countries need both loans and grants. Loans are now available in plenty, from the World Bank, or the American lending agencies, or other sources. It is equally important to provide money for services which cannot be financed by borrowing because they yield no financial return—for services such as education, research and survey, or public health.

Ideas of foreign aid have swung in recent years more and more away from

grants towards loans, and this is a mistake, since the need for improvements in education, in surveys and in other public services is just as great as the need for investment in revenue-yielding enterprises.

Since the amount of aid which rich countries will make available to poor countries is relatively small, it is important that such aid be used productively. A great deal of this aid has gone down the drain because it has been influenced by political rather than by purely economic considerations.

For example the United States pours aid into a number of countries where the principal effect is to enrich corrupt politicians. The United Nations has similar constraints.

World Bank success: Members of the General Assembly are egalitarian, and, if permitted, would distribute aid on some simple *per capita* basis which took no account of what was likely to be done with the aid. The Secretariat thinks differently; its political leaders are most anxious to bolster the weak, so if they had their way most of the United Nations aid would go to the countries which are least likely to be able to make good use of it.

The most successful of the agencies giving aid is the World Bank. This is because it is the furthest removed from political influences, whether those which dominate American policies, or those which influence the United Nations.

If aid is to be made available on a much larger scale, as we all hope it will be, we must try to ensure that it is administered in such a way that the money flows mainly to those under-developed countries where it is likely to be put to good use.

Very few of the new states are ready for economic progress.

Lesson of Israel: There is, however, a positive side, which Israel so well illustrates, of what can be achieved given science, men, money, a great charismatic leader, and an enlightened public opinion.

Most of us here from abroad have come to this country to see with our own eyes the wonderful lesson which it teaches: of what men can achieve when they have the will to make for themselves a society in which every member can find a home, a living, spiritual fulfilment, and good fellowship.

I have to thank you, both for myself and for other visitors, for the opportunity to be here, and to see that it really works. This is the important message which we shall all take back to our new countries when we return.



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BOOKS

LIDDELL HART AND THE HAGANA

TERRENT OR DEFENCE, by B. H. Liddell Hart; no index, 257 pp.; (Stevens) 30s.

I had finished the book and was putting it away on my Liddell Hart shelf, and then I realised with a sense of shock that the whole shelf was now filled. The earliest of his books went back rather more than thirty years to the later nineteen-twenties, and one of them was called, significantly, "Reputations". There was the quintet dressed up as the military biographies of Scipio Africanus, Napoleon, Sherman, Foch and Lawrence of Arabia which were so much more than a biography. Each of the five parts was in fact a corner-stone of a new military theory that was to have as great an impact on our generation as Clausewitz had on his. They were interspersed and followed up with others of Liddell Hart's specialities: criticisms of books, assessments of men, evaluations of past campaigns that were again much more than they appeared. "The Fog of War," an explanation of the decisive battles in history, his analysis of the British way of warfare, all added their contribution to the overall concept of war which reversed the order of importance to which 19th century military thinking (which still dominated the first forty years of the twentieth) had accustomed the world. Liddell Hart put the mind first, the battlefield second; he addressed himself to the commanders, not the soldiers. He understood better than most that it is commanders, not soldiers, who usually lose battles.

He developed and cultivated what might be called the intellectual approach to warfare. He saw it as a contest of wits in which the soldier's role was to provide the minimum of effort at the minimum cost to ensure victory, and more than anyone he understood that victory need not be total to be complete. His doctrine was not exactly welcomed by officialdom, far from it. Yet his remarkable articulateness in print, his persuasive style and the cold logic of his argument, gathered (unknown to him at the time) a select group of disciples in the most unlikely places: Rommel in Africa, Manstein breaking through at Sedan in 1940, Guderian who wrote the handbook for German armour, General

Chassin in France, Yigal Yadin and Yigal Allon in Israel, and many more acknowledged Liddell Hart as their unknown teacher.

But when one looks at the course of military development, Liddell Hart's influence extends much further than that. For he has no less influenced many others who are themselves hardly aware of the source of their military thinking; commanding generals and anonymous planning staffs. But there is probably no body of military men anywhere in the world which has been more influenced by Liddell Hart than the commanders of the Hagana and later of the Israel Defence Forces. Both Yadin and Allon have paid public tribute to the contribution which Liddell Hart made to the evolution of the Hagana's military doctrine. But it did not stop there. When one comes to consider Dayan's strategy in the Sinai campaign, it is clear that its apparent reliance on direct assault not only misled the Egyptians but also most military observers. For the drive to the Suez Canal was, in effect, the most telling diversion insofar as it compelled the Egyptians to abandon the el Arish and the Gaza sectors. Dayan's originality was in the application of the old principles; he reversed them but he did not change them. For the essence of Liddell Hart's military doctrine, more so than Clausewitz or any other modern, is its essential flexibility, and no one demonstrated this better than the Hagana and its military heirs.

And now Liddell Hart has added one further study to his collection. In his now familiar manner (though more briefly, almost too briefly), he considers the military problems of our day and asks all those uncomfortable questions that tend to touch the sensitive roots of the topics he discusses. The twenty-four essays range wide—from an imaginary assessment of Soviet policy from the Soviet point of view, to the consideration of many aspects of NATO policy, not least, the ultimate question: whether NATO provides any real protection.

As in so much of Liddell Hart's writing, the topic discussed becomes a peg on which he can hang his more fundamental arguments without the reader being always immediately aware of what Liddell Hart is doing. Here he develops effectively his plea for greater flexibility of planning and outlook set in the NATO frame, and he comes back to discuss the possibly greater importance of conventional weapons now that it has become virtually impossible, politically and morally, to make use of the "ultimate" weapons. But, as I have said, Lid-

dell Hart cannot be read in isolation. His latest book has to be related to many of his earlier ones, and neither politician nor soldier will regret it if it leads them back to read again the books Scipio, Napoleon or the series of studies on the indirect approach as the decisive element of strategy. For these thoughts have played an unusually large part in the shaping of our world—and not least in the making of Israel.

Jon Kimche

ONLY FOR THE COMMITTED

A MODERN TREASURY OF JEWISH THOUGHTS, edited by Sidney Greenberg; index of authors, 465 pp.; (Yoseloff) 35s.

According to the blurb, this book is designed to clarify such questions as: "What does it mean to be a Jew?"; "What blessings does it offer?"; "What duties does it imply?"; That these questions seem to remain largely unanswered, is due mainly to the fact that the quotations have been selected with far too catholic a hand. What bearing on these and related questions has such a statement as: "A man is like a letter of the alphabet: to produce a word, it must combine with another"? And who are Nachman Krochmal, Benjamin Mandelstamm, Justus Timberline, Joseph Krauskopf and Maxime Piha? If the editor had provided an index of the subject matter of quotations, this book would have been far easier to use as a work of reference, as indeed it would if Rabbi Greenberg had been more ruthless in his selecting.

S.L.

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Sieve flour and salt together into mixing bowl. Sieve potatoes. Melt Tomor, and cool. Mix potatoes with flour. Stir in melted Tomor and milk. Form into a ball. Turn out on to a floured board, and roll out thinly. Cut into rounds, squares or triangles. Brush griddle (or thick frying pan) with additional melted Tomor, and heat. Add potato cakes and cook over moderate heat for about ten minutes, turning over when browned underneath (or after about five minutes). Serve hot or cold, spread with Tomor. Makes 8-12 Potato Cakes according to size.

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ZIONISM

MORE DEMOCRACY IN CONGRESS ELECTIONS

SHOULD THE PUBLIC BE CONSULTED?

from the Jewish Affairs reporter

Once again, it seems, an attempt will be made to avoid holding an election to decide who shall represent Britain at the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, which is due to take place in December. The party lists of delegates have to be submitted to the Central Election Board by September 16, and so far I have heard of five separate lists.

The problem which now arises is how the 19 delegates to which Britain is entitled are to be apportioned between the parties.

Some idea of the respective strength of the parties can be gained from the number of *Shekalim* sold by each group, presumably to its sympathisers. I learn that, in round terms, the position of the contestants is as follows:

Mapam	...	1,300
Landman Group	...	2,500
Poale Zion	...	7,600
Mizrachi	...	8,900
Zionist Federation	...	43,500

Altogether 64,000 *Shekalim* were sold.

Check party claims: From what I hear, it seems that once again it will be proposed that the parties should get together, agree on a share-out of the seats and thus avoid an election. The Mizrahi and the Landman Group are, I understand, in favour of such a deal.

But there is increasing feeling that there should be no monkeying with the representative system this year and that the Zionist electorate should have its say. For the past ten years, the electors have been virtually ignored and the different party officials have settled the Congress representation without reference to them.

Now the time has come for a realistic check on the claims of the different groups, and the only effective way is to test public feeling in an election.

"Establishments" kill public interest: Private arrangements between the party "establishments" kill any public interest in the issues before Congress. This switch to more democracy, more consultation of the rank and file, and more open and public discussion, is long overdue in the preparations for the Zionist conferences.

ISRAELI ENTERPRISE

A Guide for Businessmen

DELEK TAKES OVER WHERE FOREIGN COMPANIES LEFT OFF

START MADE WITH OIL EXPORTS TO EUROPE

When Israel was established, foreign companies, notably Shell, had a monopoly of oil importing, refining and distribution.

The Government decided that an Israel company should have a hand in distribution at least, and Delek, The Israel Petroleum Corporation Ltd., was set up in December, 1951.

Shell pulled out in 1958, and Delek had no time in filling the gap. In addition, the company decided to expand its activities into all the other spheres connected with oil—exploration and exploitation; pipeline installation and operation; tanker buying and chartering, and so on. **Government's controlling interest:** Delek was established jointly by the Histadrut and private capital, each holding 50 per cent of the company's shares, while the Government held the remaining 50 per cent controlling interest—of ten per

cent of the capital structure of the company. Room for private foreign investment. 50 per cent of the Histadrut's shares are held by Ampa, and American private capital is also represented.

When Delek was set up, it was the only national oil undertaking, but today there are a number of other enterprises operating, some locally owned, others controlled by overseas Jewish interests, like the Consolidated Refineries, for example.

Asphalt to Turkey: This situation has led to increased activity, both on the local market and overseas. The Consolidated Refineries in Haifa have a working capacity in excess of the country's total requirements, and in an effort to exploit the possible export potential the United Petroleum Export Company has been set

up on investment and expansion, often through subsidiary companies wholly owned or controlled by Delek.

Canadian company: Delek Tankers Ltd. for example, uses oil tankers under long-term charter arrangements, handling 82 cargoes totalling 1,393,000 tons in 1959. Crude oil is also transported to Haifa by pipeline.

The concession for the 16 in. line from

central and southern areas of the country.

In nuclear work also: Delek is also participating in the search for oil, through Naphta, the Israel Petroleum Corporation, in which it has invested I£270,000. But its activities do not end there.

Since Delek produces gas at the Haifa refineries, and supplies several gas marketing firms, the management decided that it needed more direct contact with this particular market, and acquired 30 per cent of the share capital of Amisragas, the American-Israeli Gas Corporation Ltd.

Together with Amisragas, Delek also established Isratom, the Israel Nuclear Engineering Company, Delek holding 75 per cent of the shares. Isratom last year undertook a comprehensive research programme through Yeda, an affiliate of the Weizmann Institute of Science.



FILL UP WITH DELEK

Capital concession—a familiar sight to drivers arriving in Jerusalem

Elath to Haifa is held by Tri-Continental Pipelines Ltd., a company registered in Canada, in which Delek is an important shareholder—to the extent of \$1,000,000.

Another recent activity is the construction, together with two other local oil companies, of the oil terminal in north Tel Aviv. Here petroleum products are first bulked and then distributed to the

Insurance and filling stations: Other Delek-controlled companies include Delek Agencies and Services Ltd., handling the company's insurance business on a commission basis, and acting as its agent with local and foreign insurance companies; the Fuel Oil Trading Company, established in collaboration with two other local companies, which supplies the

the shares are held in equal proportions by Delek, the Consolidated Refineries, Paz and Sonol. Despite heavy foreign competition, the Export Company has received orders from Turkey and Germany. Asphalt will go to the former, and oil products to the latter.

Delek's main function however, is to produce and achieve self-sufficiency for Israel in the field of oil supplies. In every sphere of the company's activity, the emphasis is

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Palestine Electric Corporation with fuel (and the Corporation is one of the country's main fuel consumers); and a filling and service station company, whose network last year sold 1,325,000 tons of petrol and oils worth over £83,740,000.

Delek's capital was increased in 1959 to £6 million by a public share issue. As an interim dividend of 7 per cent gross and a final of 12 per cent were declared, it is hardly a matter for surprise that Delek shares have risen from 206 last December to 260 now.

LOCAL REPRINTS BECOME BEST SELLERS

FROM PASTERNAK TO URIS AND SAGAN

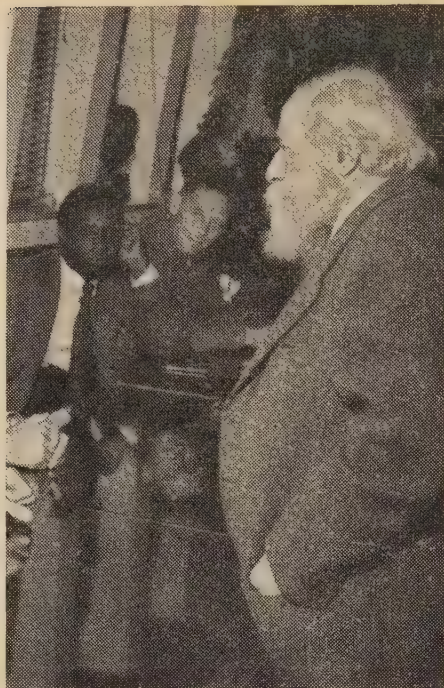
Since publishing Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* in an Israel reprint edition in November 1958, Yehezkel Steimatzky (Middle East Publishers, Booksellers and Newsagents) has put out more than forty titles and has probably sold close to 100,000 volumes.

The scheme started with the Pasternak book, when it was found that local demand for an English edition of the controversial best-seller far surpassed any possible supply from abroad.

This was largely due to severe foreign currency restrictions on the import of fiction books. With the cancellation of the I.M.G. (Information Medium Guarantee) allocation for books to be shipped from the United States in 1958, except for \$300,000 for magazines and periodicals, the import of English-language fiction virtually came to an end almost overnight.

Few dollars for fiction: The Israel Government allocated \$200,000 for the import of scientific literature, but there were few dollars to spare for non-scientific reading matter. A similar situation applied to book imports from the United Kingdom.

It was under pressure of these events



PROFESSOR MARTIN BUBER
No shortage of readers

that Steimatzky first approached Collins of London for permission to reprint *Dr. Zhivago*. The venture proved so successful that Steimatzky decided to transform a temporary expediency into a permanent publishing enterprise.

All printing is done by offset, from the original English or American edition, so that reprints here can come off the press within a matter of weeks, dispensing with type-setting, copy-editing, proof-reading, etc.

Local paper used: Much foreign currency is saved by using paper obtainable locally, as well as local binding. The Government has granted permission to pay royalties in foreign currency. They range from 7½ to 15 per cent, depending on the character of the book, and the royalties paid by the original publisher to the author.

Among the books which have appeared in a local reprint edition are Uris' *Exodus*, Nabokov's *Lolita*, the unexpurgated version of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Josephus' *Jewish War* by arrangement with Penguin, Yael Dayan's *New Face in the Mirror* and an English translation of Françoise Sagan's *Aimez-Vous Brahms?* Steimatzky is also reprinting a series of Hugo's language primers, as well as the *Oxford English Reader's Dictionary* which is used here in secondary schools.

The average edition of reprints runs to 2,000 copies, assuring the local publisher a certain profit margin, but in some exceptional cases, such as *Exodus* and the

Oxford Dictionary, editions have been much bigger, running into many thousands.

Expansion into paper-backs: Steimatzky intends to expand into pocket edition paper-backs, where reprints also run into many thousands and which sell at comparatively low prices (between £0.90 and £1.60) and are correspondingly popular as they are in England and elsewhere.

The firm looks forward to a reprint list of 100 titles in 1961, including Schwartz-Bart's *Le Dernier des Justes* (in English), Roy Elston's *No Alternative*, and Lampedusa's *The Leopard*. Books reprinted in Israel, incidentally, are on the list of prohibited imports, both to protect local enterprise and because of the currency allocation for royalties.

Reprints sell at a rate equal to or lower than the original editions abroad, a boon to the English-reading public here, where imported books sell at a rate of £7 to one pound sterling. Since sales of reprints are confined to Israel, the publishers of the original edition are fully protected.

From page proofs: Present plans call for reprints from page-proof rather than from the finished edition, so that in time Steimatzky may well fulfil his ambition of simultaneous publication in London—or New York—and Tel Aviv.

FOREIGNERS TAKE ISRAELI MEDICINES

PHARMACEUTICAL EXPORTS FIND GROWING MARKETS

Israeli medical preparations are beginning to make their mark in foreign markets. Last year \$2 million worth were exported by Isphar—the Israel Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Export Corporation, set up seven years or so ago.

The country's seven leading pharmaceutical firms were the founders of the Corporation—Zori, Assia, Hillel, Geva, Abic, Taro and Ikapharm.

First in the field was Zori, founded in 1932, when building specifications had to be obtained from Britain, because nobody here had any idea what a pharmaceutical plant ought to look like. Until production started in 1933, all medical preparations had been imported.

Moshe Grotto, Zori's scientific manager, carried out pioneer work in the pharmaceutical field at that time, studying the need for specific preparations in Palestine and its Arab neighbours. Dysentery, particularly amoebic dysentery, was the most widespread disease, with heart afflictions running it a close second.

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petus of war: During the Second World War, when medical imports were severely curtailed, plants of the foxglove (for digitalis) were grown at Girenner, and locally produced cardiovascular stimulants were supplied to Palestine, the Arab countries and Iran. The war boosted the growth of the country's pharmaceutical industry, which comprises some 19 firms producing a million worth of goods for the market alone during 1959. This does not include the sizable quantities supplied to Kupat Holim, the Work-Sick Fund of the Histadrut, which distributes medicines in bulk and distributes unpackaged, to individual patients. The industry as a whole takes great objection to this practice which not only reduces the profits, but, it is claimed, is dangerous, occasional wrong preparations.

Pharmaceutical production today falls into two main categories: the manufacture of fine chemicals and the production of vaccines and other widely used medicines.

thousand workers: As little as 12 years ago, the industry was chiefly engaged in processing chemical compounds imported from abroad. Today, many of them are produced locally, making up a large share of pharmaceutical exports.

Local raw materials include bromine, calcium, and various plant products.

The industry today employs some 1,000 workers, of whom about ten per cent are chemists, pharmacists and physicians, with the emphasis shifting increasingly toward original research. There is no government subsidy, and no organisation financing pharmaceutical research, so the local industry has financed its own.

The industry as a whole is almost entirely financed by domestic capital, with one or two exceptions, such as Abic which is partly Italian-financed. However, the industry today is linked by patent agreements with a number of foreign enterprises of high international standing.

Exports will expand: This is a two-way traffic. Not only do Israeli firms produce such things as Salk polio vaccine under licence, but foreign firms produce Israeli-developed preparations.

Today, Israel's pharmaceutical industry is determined to expand its exports and broaden its research activities. Today, its main markets lie in Cyprus, Turkey and Africa, but with increasing world demand, Israel hopes to acquire new and growing markets elsewhere.

ISRAELI ENTERPRISE is prepared by the Jewish Observer-Israel Periodicals, 13 Montefiore Street, Tel Aviv. Phone: 65882.

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MODERN HEBREW TAUGHT PRIVATELY by experienced Israeli teacher, I. Adler, 84 George Street, W.1. (WELbeck 8734).

BIRTH

OSEN—A daughter Joanne (717) was born to Doris (nee Dias) wife of David Osen of 42 Colvin Gardens, Barkingside, Ilford, on Sunday, 21st August, 1960. A sister for Adam.

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BROADCASTS FROM ISRAEL

Fri. 26th August: 21.15 The News. 21.25 Our Correspondent Reports. 21.30 Sabbath Programme.

Sat. 27th August: 21.15 The News. 21.25 The Lighter Side. 21.35 This Week's Portion, by Rabbi Bernard Casper. 21.40 Cantorial Music.

Sun. 28th August: 21.15 The News. 21.25 "Heritage"—Digging for the Past. 21.40 "In the Jewish World."

Mon. 29th August: 21.15 The News. 21.25 Newsreel. 21.35 A Selection of Horras.

Tues. 30th August: 21.15 The News. 21.25 Commentary. 21.30 From East to West: Personal Greetings and Record Requests.

Wed. 31st August: 21.15 The News 21.25 Tune of the Week. 21.30 Science and New States: Report on International Conference in Rehovot—Part 2.

Thurs. 1st Sept.: 21.15 The News. 21.25 Editorial Opinion. 21.35 Easy Hebrew Conversation, with Yehuda Goodman.



FLAG-DAY . . .

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JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by J.P.A.-J.N.F. Public Relations Department, 65 Southampton Row, W.C.1 Telephone: MUSEum 6111

BREAKING NEW GROUND IN UPPER GALILEE

YOUNG TOURISTS AT HURSHAT TAL PARK

During their recently concluded tour of Israel, the 92 members of Younger J.N.F. Commissions spent a day in Upper Galilee where they were joined by a group of distinguished, Israeli personalities to dedicate the Hurshat Tal National Park, a project upon which all Younger Commission fund-raising has been concentrated during the past twelve months.

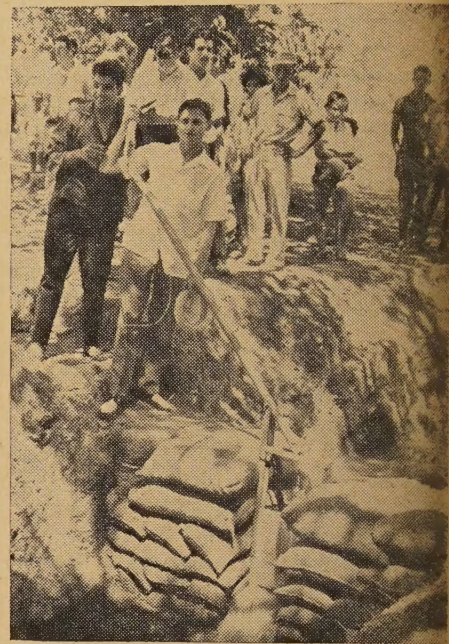
This undertaking is, briefly, to develop the area of Hurshat Tal as a sporting and tourist centre and, in the view of one Israel spokesman present, it will open up the whole region of Upper Galilee to tourism in a way that this had hitherto not been possible, thus adding to its economic potential.

Presiding over the ceremony of dedication was Dr. S. Lowy, who was accompanied by other colleagues from K.K.L. Head Office including Zvi Weinberg and Harry Sabel. On the platform also were Teddy Kollek, director-general of the Prime Minister's office, Mr. Rubinstein who is himself an immigrant from Britain and today chairman of the Upper Galilee Regional Council, and techni-

cians concerned with land reclamation such as Sharon Weitz and Tuvia Ashbel. A group of young people from the neighbouring town of Kiryat Shmona welcomed the British visitors in song.

After the Hurshat Tal plaque had been unveiled by two members of the group, Penelope Simmons and Henry Clarfield, the gathering was addressed by Dr. Lowy. He disclosed that for some time the Israel Government special tourist committee, whose concern was the preservation and development of the country's beauty spots, had sought to interest overseas Jewry in Hurshat Tal. He was very pleased that the Younger Commissions had seized the opportunity to identify themselves with it, and he pointed out that the J.N.F. was associated with the project by virtue of its agreement with the Government that made the J.N.F. the sole land reclamation and afforestation agency in Israel.

Observing that some 25 settlements were established in the vicinity, Mr. Kollek said that the natural beauty of this site would make it a popular rendezvous



Sluice gates being opened by Derek Zissman, youngest member of the group.

for these settlers, and he applauded the initiative of the Jewish National Fund in making the present occasion possible.

"Today may well mark a new era in Upper Galilee through its inclusion on the tourist map," declared Mr. Rubinstein. Until now there had been a feeling of isolation in the area but Hurshat Tal constituted a strong connecting link. As a former "Anglo-Saxon" he asked the group to look on themselves also as potential settlers, for he admitted with regret that of the 30,000 inhabitants of this part of the country, barely 500 hailed from English-speaking lands. Yet there were more opportunities there for new people and conditions for absorption in the large neighbouring towns were much easier than further south.

Remarking that this was a memorable day in their tour, Trevor Chinn, the group's leader, spoke of the privilege given them to help transform Hurshat Tal for future generations. It was, he concluded, the future that was most important.

MESSAGE FROM JACOB TSUR

On the occasion of the signing of the new Land Laws of the Knesset, the chairman of the Board of Directors writes:

The ratification of the Land Laws by the Knesset and the agreement in regard to the Covenant between the Keren



Teddy Kollek speaking at dedication of Hurshat Tal. On his left, S. Rubinstein, Dr. S. Lowy, Trevor Chinn, Conrad Morris and Zvi Weinberg.

J P A - J N F NEWS

emeth and the Government of Israel, institute a new era in the history of our nation.

The establishment of a Land Administration Authority, to embrace State lands and lands of the Keren Kayemeth, marks a victory of the fundamental principle of national ownership of land. State lands as well as the areas which were cleared through the constant and persistent efforts of active J.N.F. workers all over the world, will not be offered for sale and will serve as a unified and loyal basis for settlement planning in the country.

The establishment of the Land Development Authority, within the framework of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, allows the Fund with the responsibility of developing Israel's land, of redeeming it from desolation and reclaiming it for settlement. It also charges the Fund with the work of afforestation, in continuation of the mighty task which, up-to-date, has effected great changes in the country's landscape.

The tremendous mission of redeeming the country's soil from neglect and barrenness is now entrusted to us. Its realisation depends upon the devotion and attachment to the Fund of thousands of voluntary workers on our behalf in Israel and the Diaspora.

The loyal camp of J.N.F. workers who led by the Fund during the days of political struggle for the redemption of the soil will know how to fulfil the pioneering task which has devolved upon them of converting the desert into settled land.

The Board of Directors of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, representing all lands within the State and the Zionist movement, sends greetings of encouragement to its supporters on the opening of a new period in its history.

GOLDEN BOOK

Recent inscriptions include: Karen Myers for her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. A. Myers on the occasion of her birth; Adrian Rus-Schooler by his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. A. Myers on the occasion of his birth; Emanuel Blumfield by his parents and Mrs. R. Blumfield on the occasion of his barmitzvah; Emmanuel Levinson by Hull Western Congregation on his retirement from the council after thirty years' service; Marks and Flora Niman by Leon and Freda Lewy on the occasion of their wedding anniversary; Isidore Green of the Brighton and Hove J.P.A./J.N.F. Committee; Jeffrey Phillip Kennedy by his parents on the occasion of his barmitzvah; and Dennis Kennedy by his parents on the occasion of his barmitzvah.

BRIGHTON CONCERT RAISES £7,000

The eighth annual Sunday concert organised by Isidore Green on behalf of the J.N.F. Charitable Trust took place at the Brighton Hippodrome on Sunday, August 7 and produced the record figure of £7,000. This noteworthy annual effort is sponsored by the Brighton and Hove J.P.A./J.N.F. workers as a glittering midsummer occasion in aid of Israel.

As usual, there was a packed audience to witness a performance that brought leading artistes from far and near to make up a bill rarely seen in London, let alone the provinces.

Those who appeared were: Joyce and Lionel Blair, Clark Bros., Tommy Cooper, Billy Dainty, Peter Elliot, Maggi Fitzgibbon, Irene Hilda, Stubby Kaye, Leo De Lyon, Art Lund, Gary Miller, Ron Moody, Des O'Connor, Leoni Page, Ron Parry, The Red Peppers, The Southlanders, Libi Staiger.

TREE INSCRIPTIONS

A garden of 150 trees in the names of Nora and Alec Phillips on the occasion of their daughter Josephine's marriage by their friends; A garden of 100 trees in the names of Dr. Lazar and Eve Golomb on the occasion of their Silver Wedding; A garden of 100 trees in the name of Bruce Franks by Mr. and Mrs. M. Franks; A garden of 100 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Willie Gee; A garden of 100 trees in memory of Joseph Applebaum by the University of Liverpool Jewish Students Society; An avenue of 62 trees in the names of Sandra and Alec Levene by their parents; 20 trees in the name of Chalkwell Lodge by the Brethren; 18 trees in the name of Mr. I. Engel; 15 trees in the names of Rabbi and Mrs. P. Shebson; 15 trees in the name of Mr. A. Cohen.

Fifteen trees in the names of Philip and Rosalind Statman by their parents; 15 trees in the name of Mrs. Sally Jonas by her husband; 15 trees in memory of her husband, parents and two brothers, by Mrs. A. Worsell; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. B. Levitt; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. A. Nyman; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. J. Levitt; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Curtis; 15 trees in the names of Russell Leslie and Ruth Avril Phillips by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Reginald, Angela and Barry Davis by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Barry Joseph and Andrew Paul Brent by their parents; 15 trees in the names of Mr. and Mrs. I. Wilson; 15 trees in memory of Abraham Turschwell by his son, Mr. S. Turschwell; 15 trees in memory of Joseph Statman by his son, Martin Statman.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

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